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Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-95-185
Monday
25 September 1995

Daily Report
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NATO Prepares 50,000-Strong Force for Bosnia

AU2209174195 Paris AFP in English
1724 GMT 22 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Brussels, Sept 22 (AFP)—NATO has started preparations for a multinational force of up to 50,000 heavily armed troops to be deployed in Bosnia-Herzegovina to guarantee any possible future peace agreement, diplomatic and military officials said Friday.

North Atlantic Treaty Organisation military personnel started working on the plan Wednesday at the behest of political leaders as hopes for a peace deal between the warring factions in Bosnia-Herzegovina brightened.

The force is nominally expected to comprise between 15,000 and 25,000 U.S. troops, 15,000 British soldiers and between 12,000 and 15,000 French troops, as well as Russian and Ukrainian forces and troops from some Muslim nations.

The force would replace the beleaguered UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in the former Yugoslav republic, and its deployment is contingent on the Bosnian Serbs and the Muslim-Croat Federation signing a deal on the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and on UN approval.

Foreign ministers from Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and rump Yugoslavia are to meet in New York on Tuesday to try and advance the peace process.

France confirmed Friday it was ready to provide its share of the troops, while Spain also said it was prepared to contribute to the NATO force.

But a senior Russian diplomat said Friday Moscow would use its UN Security Council veto to oppose the use of a NATO force acting as a peace guarantor in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Moscow was not in favour of the "transfer of the (UN) mandate to a force entirely made up of NATO forces," the diplomat said under cover of anonymity.

Russia's Zotov Discusses Contact Group Work

AU2409211795 Belgrade TELEGRAF
in Serbo-Croatian 20 Sep 95 pp 6-7

[Interview with Alexander Zotov, Russian representative in the Contact Group, by Goran Rosic in Geneva on 15 September: "Zotov: 'We Are Not Hiding the Differences Between Russia and the United States of America Within the Contact Group'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "The meeting is over, but you will have to wait. Mr. Zotov is fiercely quarreling with the Americans. Hold on," the TELEGRAF reporter was told by a voice at the other end of the line, at the Russian Mission in Geneva. That is where we tried, for the third time that day, late in the evening, to get an interview with Mr. Alexander Zotov, the Russian representative in the Contact Group, a diplomat who has been a frequent visitor to Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic lately. Zotov postponed the interview twice, although it had been arranged before, because of consultations with his government before the Contact Group meeting was held that day.

After we had waited for a minute, we heard: "Hello, Zotov speaking...."

[Rosic] You are just coming from the Contact Group meeting that was postponed twice because Richard Holbrooke spent more time than he had planned in the former Yugoslavia. What news did the U.S. diplomat bring from Belgrade to Geneva?

[Zotov] Regarding Holbrooke's visit to Belgrade, I have to say that he assessed Milosevic's efforts as highly positive and that he considers this the key to the progress and a chance for peace. We must all respect the attitude taken by President Milosevic.

On the other hand, I am afraid that we do not know to what extent Milosevic can influence the real peace and the Bosnian Serb leadership, although we know that he is trying hard to stop hostilities and initiate the withdrawal of heavy weapons around Sarajevo, which should be followed by the cessation of hostilities in the whole of Bosnia.

I can claim with responsibility that if Karadzic and Mladic fulfill what they have promised, and I mean the withdrawal of heavy weapons out of the exclusion zone around Sarajevo, NATO strikes will be stopped. This is the key to make NATO stop its strikes.

[Rosic] What are the guarantees given to the Serbs that the Muslims will not attack Serbian civilians and positions in and around Sarajevo?

[Zotov] It is foreseen that the heavy weapons of the Muslims that will remain around Sarajevo should be strictly controlled. We discussed a moratorium today, but I cannot tell you anything else about this today.

[Rosic] Russian soldiers will be stationed in the Serbian part of Sarajevo. Who will be the commander of the Russian forces: your government or the United Nations?

[Zotov] Everything will remain as it is. Our contingent of soldiers in Sarajevo is part of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR]. I would like to underline, however, that this might change. We have not yet started concrete discussions about the command over the Russian troops. Various mechanisms are possible....

[Rosic] Yes, but the Serbs do not trust UNPROFOR any longer.

[Zotov] I would like to repeat that our contingent will remain part of the joint forces, of the joint UNPROFOR contingent stationed in the Sarajevo region. Our forces cannot take over the function of a guarantor because additional agreements are necessary for such a thing.

[Rosic] If the Muslims attack the Serbs in the Sarajevo region and if there is no NATO response, what will Russia do? Defense Minister Pavel Grachev said that Russia would in that case send weapons to Bosnian Serbs.

[Zotov] I would not like to discuss such a hypothetical situation. It is only natural that the Russian Government will do what it decides itself. It is difficult for me to predict what decision we could make, but I think our reaction could be sharp. President Yeltsin recently stressed that we could not remain silent to everything that happened after the NATO strikes, which turned into one-sided offensives and provocations. Regarding concrete decisions, they are made by our government. I do not know—whenever the government discusses such matters, various things happen. It comes to various reactions, some are soft and some sharp, depending on the situation.

In case a new attitude is taken, it is best to apply the physician's rule: It is good to help, but the most important thing is to do it in a clever way, in order not to make the final result even worse.

You know that the Duma adopted laws on lifting the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which have not been signed by our president.... All of this is reflected in the atmosphere in Russia. On the other hand, our sympathies are on the Serbian side, especially after the Serbs became victims of the NATO intervention. It must be carefully considered, however, whether it could be of help to all Serbs if decisions adopted by the UN Security Council are openly violated and if the sanctions are unilaterally lifted because such behavior could result in certain events that could deteriorate the position of the Serbs, not improve it.

[Rosic] The differences between Russia and the United States of America are growing bigger lately.

[Zotov] We do not hide them. The differences in our attitudes are very big, especially regarding the use of force or regarding the NATO activities against Bosnian Serbs and the use of double standards in the search for a solution to the crisis. We also have different opinions regarding the sanctions, and there is a whole series of other issues, too, where the differences are not that big but where our general attitude is rather different from the U.S. position.

Working on the political solution to the conflict, we do not try to hide the differences; we even underline them. Regardless of that, we try to develop a joint approach because the problem in the Balkans cannot be solved in any way other than with joint efforts.

There is, naturally, a whole series of issues where we have extreme difficulties in reaching an agreement. We simply reject certain things; some of them make us feel uncomfortable on both the political and the social level. Regardless of that, we try to be realistic: We know that we have to "fight" with others in order to protect our interests. It is only natural that every country must protect its national interests and its understanding of international relations, and, after all, the concept of its role in the world. That is where the conflicts between us and our partner, the United States of America, originate. The problem of peace can, however, be solved only with joint efforts.

[Rosic] What are Belgrade's reactions to that?

[Zotov] I shall go back to where our conversation started: It must be said that the official authorities in Belgrade very much support a joint orientation within the Contact Group because positive, constructive impulses and materials on which we work come from Belgrade. They make us hope that an agreement about the normalization of relations in the region will be reached.

[Rosic] What kind of reward can Belgrade expect for this, as you say, constructive cooperation?

[Zotov] This is a justified question. The removal of the sanctions is the thing on which Belgrade is counting, but no party to the conflict—I mean those in Bosnia—practically accepts the Contact Group plan. One side does not like the maps, the other does not like the principles of the constitutional order. On the other hand, Zagreb is solving its problems in the military way. The only side that is trying to comply fully with the international efforts and plans is Yugoslavia. And it is Yugoslavia that is under the sanctions. This is a paradox, the illogical approach to the crisis our Western partners support, and we constantly point to this problem. Therefore, I think that, if the peace process starts, if signs of normalization emerge, if the situation in Bosnia begins to stabilize, the question of the lifting of the sanctions will become very current. As soon as the sanctions are lifted, the relations will be completely different.

[Rosic] What will political links between the Serbian Republic and Belgrade be like?

[Zotov] We are now discussing this issue in the way it was arranged—in the way it is foreseen in the agreement made between the ministers of Croatia, Bosnia, and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, with the participation of the Bosnian Serbs. We support these principles, and they comply with the Contact Group plans. It is another problem that not everything in this approach is acceptable for Sarajevo. We shall have to overcome this opposition of the Muslim leadership.

[Rosic] Are there new maps for a partition of Bosnia? The situation in the field shows that Muslim-Croatian troops stick to the old, last year's Contact Group maps.

[Zotov] It is difficult for me to speak about it because the discussion of maps is still in the initial stage. We have not made any concrete agreement yet, the parties to the conflict are still supporting their original positions, and they are very divergent.

Today I tried to compare the direction of the military strikes performed by the Croatian-Muslim forces with the Contact Group maps. They correspond in some places, in some they do not. I think that the Muslims, who are protected by NATO strikes now, and Croats, naturally, who also have their interests, are trying to occupy as much territory as possible now in order to reach the territorial balance that would satisfy them. Regarding the Croats, they now control a large territory and hope that this will strengthen their [negotiating] positions. This question is linked to the relations between Croatia and Serbia, to the region known as the Northeast.

[Rosic] A shell was recently fired at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow. Can this event be connected to the NATO strikes against the Serbs in the Serbian Republic?

[Zotov] It is difficult to speak about a direct connection. Only the investigation, which is under way, can tell us what kind of connection there was. Because there is no result of the investigation yet, it would be senseless and careless to speak about a connection between these events.

[Rosic] How do you comment on the proposal made by Aleksa Buha, the foreign minister of the Serbian Republic, that a contact group of Orthodox countries should be established?

[Zotov] This question has not been discussed seriously yet. It is difficult to say anything about it. It must first be defined which are Orthodox countries—that is, whether these are countries in which there is the Orthodox religion or in which a majority of the population is Orthodox or where the Orthodox religion is the state religion....

This is easier for the Muslims because they have gone through all these stages, they have more or less decided who belongs to them, to the Islamic world.

What is the Orthodox world? A structure should be created that would be capable of performing joint actions, and this is a problem because we have not underlined the Orthodox religion as the common basis in the political sense—although we did in the emotional, cultural, and historical sense—during the last years. We have not underlined the Orthodox religion as the basis that could unite certain countries or be used as the starting point for their political activities. By the way, I have heard for the first time about this proposal from you.

IAEA Opposes French, PRC Nuclear Testing

*AU2209170095 Paris AFP in English
1645 GMT 22 Sep 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vienna, Sept 22 (AFP)—The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) opposed nuclear testing by France and China Friday in a motion passed without a vote at its annual conference.

Although the motion did not cite France or China by name, delegates at the conference were left in no doubt that it was aimed at the two countries which have carried out tests in the past few weeks.

An earlier draft said the atomic authority "deplored" the tests but the proposers agreed, at the prompting of France and other western countries including the United States, to tone down the wording of the motion.

The motion was proposed by the Philippines and seconded by around 20 countries including Australia, New Zealand and Japan.

The IAEA expressed "great anxiety" over renewed nuclear testing and "called urgently on countries that have nuclear programmes to abandon them."

A "halt" to the tests—the word "immediate" was removed from the draft—would "contribute to the conclusion of a Complete Test Ban Treaty and the promotion of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty," the motion added.

Both Paris and Beijing have ordered nuclear blasts in the past few weeks to the outrage of the international community.

The French blast on Mururoa atoll, in the south Pacific, on September 5, said to be the first of seven or eight in a programme due to run until next May, has sparked demonstrations and official protests in many countries in Europe and in the southern hemisphere.

Genocide Bill Brought Before People's Assembly

AU2109180895 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 21 Sep 95 p 1

[Report by R.E.: "Former Officials of the Regime To Leave Politics?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tirana—Former ministers, senior officials, Sigurimi personnel, and all of today's politicians who have been members of high-level party and state forums of the Albanian Workers Party or even Sigurimi collaborators, are to leave politics until the year 2002. This is the essence of the Genocide Bill, copies of which were distributed yesterday to deputies of the Democratic Party, who discussed it yesterday without their opposition colleagues being present. The bill must clear through the discussion stage and pass a ballot, but judging from the way its contents were published and the speed with which it was put before the deputies, it almost looks like it has already been adopted.

The bill is actually extremely short. In five articles, two of which are formalities, it decides which of today's senior or local politicians will be leaving the political battlefield only a few months before the new elections. Here, word for word, are the categories of people who will leave politics until the year 2002: "former members of the Politburo and Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party (and the Albanian Communist Party), ministers, People's Assembly deputies, members of the Presidential Council, chairmen of the High Court, general procurators, district first secretaries, Sigurimi personnel, and denunciators and witnesses against defendants at political trials, except in those cases where they had stood up against the official line and left the proceedings publicly." All these categories of people "cannot be elected to central or local government bodies, nor appointed to senior posts in the state administration, the judicial system, or the mass media until 31 December 2002." The entire burden of enforcing this law will fall on the procurator. "The Procurator's Office is entrusted with the immediate, priority investigation of this matter," Article 1 of the bill states. It is expected that discussions of this sensitive bill will start in the parliament tomorrow. Only a few days earlier, immediately after the publication of the contents of the bill, the Socialist deputies decided to return to the parliament if the bill was to be submitted to the commissions. The Socialists will thus temporarily suspend their boycott, at least for the duration of the debate on this bill.

PD Opposes Bill

AU2309180795 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 22 Sep 95 p 3

[Report by E. Barci: "Genocide Bill Opposed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday afternoon Berisha met with the Democratic Party [PD] parliamentary group to persuade his deputies to vote for the genocide bill. While a few hours before Berisha's proposal for Brozi's dismissal was unanimously approved, Berisha's discussion on the bill, to be discussed by the legislature today, met with opposition. Many PD deputies considered the approval of such a bill as an open violation of the constitution. Berisha himself had to admit that this is a political law, but it must be passed. According to sources within the group, Berisha interpreted the law as running counter to our constitution, but it is in line with the international conventions on genocide and human rights. Berisha said that our state has to be in conformity with these conventions. He met with opposition also concerning the categories of leaders included in the law. There were proposals for narrowing down these categories.

Many opinions were exchanged after the meeting from those who had reservations about the law. "Today the Sigurimi spies revealed themselves," says one of the PD leaders. But others think that it is not only the spies who opposed Berisha. For them the bill is a covert agreement between Berisha and Pellumbi of the Socialists. "The law Berisha is asking for eliminates the most progressive elements of the Socialist Party from the political scene and leaves it in the hands of Servet Pellumbi who introduced and protects Marx in the Socialist Party program," says one of Berisha's adversaries. It was proposed at the meeting that the bill on screening the files should be presented to the legislature within 20 days. But we learned that the PD leadership has decided that the files will not be screened before 1996. Today, the legislature will not pass the bill on genocide but will only discuss it.

Deputies Approve Bill

AU2309201695 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 23 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday's discussions in parliament about the bill on genocide and crimes against humanity committed in Albania during the communist rule for political, ideological, and religious motives lasted 10 hours. Some 71 deputies from all parliamentary political forces spoke. Two stances, for and against the approval of this bill, were noticed in the discussions.

In their discussions, the Democratic Party [PD] deputies expressed the necessity for this bill to be approved in order to close the way to that group of people who perpetrated or supported the communist genocide to come back to power and in the Albanian politics. The punishment of genocide was considered a fulfillment of the obligation that the current policy has toward democracy. It was stressed that the perpetrators of this painful tragedy of the Albanian nation should be put before the law.

In their discussions, the opposition deputies considered this bill to be part of the political revenge that the party in power exercises towards its opponents and that the bill aims at keeping the well-known figures of the opposition parties from the political fight. It was also said that this bill runs counter to the constitutional provisions on human fundamental rights and freedoms.

After these marathon discussions, the bill was examined article by article. After being voted upon, the bill was approved with 74 votes in favor.

The deputies of the Socialist and Social Democratic Parties participated neither in the examination nor in the voting on this bill. The parliament decided that the government prepare legal and sublegal acts until 15 December this year in order to serve the implementation of this law.

Reportage on Deputies' Speeches

AU2409160295

[FBIS Editorial Report] Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian on 23 September carries on page three a 1,000-word report by Ilir Alia under the headline, "Battle in Parliament: Antigenocide Law Approved."

The report states, "In the next elections, the Albanian political stage will be a few leaders short. Nano, Gjinushi, Broka, Ruci, Cani, and many others will not take part in the country's political life. After a marathon debate with more than 100 speeches, parliament approved at midnight last night a 'Law on Genocide' with 81 votes in favor, three against, and one abstention. This was the result of the voting in a chamber from which the Socialist deputies had left in protest."

The report then quotes from the speeches of People's Assembly deputies of different parties.

Gramoz Ruci of the Socialist Party (PS) is quoted as saying, "I would agree to the law and even agree to leave politics, but first I would like my guilt to be proven. It is true that I was interior minister but what did I do? The truth is that 24 hours after I came from Tepelene to take up the post at the ministry I removed the tanks surrounding Tirana. It is true that I was a member of the Albanian Workers Party [PPSH] Central Committee, but in this forum I called for the depoliticization of the schools at a time when Berisha was treating myocardial arrest with the help of the revolutionary trio [a communist slogan: 'Work, discipline, organization']. Publish my speeches at the Central Committee plenums, and also publish Berisha's speeches at his PPSh basic organization."

Aleksander Meksi, prime minister and Democratic Party (PD) deputy, is reported as saying, "I am obliged to explain to left-wing deputies that a law of this kind has been approved in all the countries of the east, without any of the protests that you are making. The bill is based on all the international conventions approved by the world's highest organizations. The law is based entirely on the Convention for the Punishment of Genocide, and I, therefore, invite everybody to approve it."

The independent deputy Abdi Baleta, formerly of the Democratic Party of the Right, is reported as saying, "I support this as a simple but important law, despite its technical and professional faults. This law is long overdue and those who postponed it must be held responsible."

Arben Imami of the Democratic Alliance is reported as saying, "I personally favor specific punishments, and the bill as it has been put forward does not deal with genocide at all. People have said here that Shefqet Peci [former chairman of the Veterans Organization] killed people in Kukes, but not four lines of accusations have been raised against him. We favor the Czech law that purged the state administration of all those who served the dictatorial regime, but we are not in favor of this law."

Leontiev Cuci of the PS is reported as saying, "How can I be punished for genocide when I was a member of the 1991 government for less than 40 days? How can Ndreci Plasari propose this bill, when everyone knows that he was a persecutor on a large scale, the right-hand man of Nexhmije and Enver Hoxha."

Tritan Shehu, PD general secretary, is reported as saying, "This law will positively influence the country's development, because it will pacify the masses. This cannot be interpreted as class war. It is not normal that those who waged a campaign of terror should not answer for it, and they must be removed from politics for several years. It is also normal for a law of this kind to be brought forward now, before the elections and not after."

Skender Gjinushi, chairman of the Social Democratic Party and one-time education minister in the last years of the communist regime, is reported as saying, "This law prepares the foundations for an illegal victory in the forthcoming elections. However, its condemnation of genocide is pure demagogy. Article 3 turns the parliament into a special court. I call on Sali Berisha not to do such a thing, and not to spread slander in the pages of RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE."

Namik Dokle of the PS is reported as saying, "The PS stand toward the dictatorial state is crystal clear. However, what most worries us is the fact that those who until yesterday were Sigurimi collaborators are now the keenest to condemn genocide."

Politicians Comment on 'Law'

AU2509082195

[FBIS Editorial Report] Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian on 24 September carries on page 3 an 800-word report by Arian Cani under the headline, "We Will Turn to the Constitutional Court."

The report states, "Leontiev Cuci, member of the Socialist Party [PS] Managing Committee, reacted harshly to the law approved by parliament yesterday and against the removal of his right to stand as a candidate, saying 'We will turn to the Constitutional Court.' Azem Hajdari, chairman of the Commission for the National Intelligence Service, Defense, and Public Order, spoke up in parliament on Friday [22 September] in favor of some politicians banished by the law: 'The law should not include Cuci, Cani, and some others.' Republican leader Sabri Godo said that 'The law should have been detailed, because this one burns the wheat together with the chaff.'"

Cuci is also reported as saying, "I personally consider it absurd that my right to stand in legislative elections should be removed by a parliamentary decree. Following the manner in which this situation has been created, I want to demand with total sincerity that the files be opened. I did not enter politics under orders, and nobody has the right to banish me by order or by a perverse law." Cuci also considers appealing "to international institutions such as the Council of Europe."

Azem Hajdari is reported as saying, "As I said in parliament, I proposed adding to the third section of the bill, which states 'except in cases in which they acted against the official line and departed publicly themselves,' the further words, 'except in cases in which, as members of the executive after 1991, they were involved in the economic sector and the high-level direction of the state and had no ties with the former Sigurimi.'"

Sabri Godo, chairman of the Republican Party, is reported as saying, "I personally would have been for the exclusion of politicians who were in the service of the Sigurimi and also for the exclusion for a time of senior officials of the Albanian Workers Party. I am for the exclusion of politicians who served communism in posts of authority before 31 March [1991], but not for those who took up posts only in its last days, perhaps to serve democracy, and without any political compromise with the past."

Committee on European Integration Reviews Progress

AU2309170995 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 22 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At a meeting today of the Governmental Committee on European Integration chaired by Prime Minister Zhan Videnov, the members heard a report on the committee's work during the last month. A national strategy for bringing Bulgaria closer to the European Union is under preparation, and work is under way on forming a committee on our association with the EU. At the suggestion of Foreign Minister Pirinski, the committee approved the candidacy of Irina Bokova [deputy foreign minister] for the post of cochairman of the committee on association with the EU.

The Governmental Committee on European Integration endorsed that Bulgaria should declare its strong dissatisfaction with the decision of the EU Council of Ministers to leave Bulgaria included in the negative list of the Schengen Treaty. Bulgaria resolutely defends its view that our country should be removed from this list, reads the announcement issued by the Council of Ministers Press Center.

French Company Demands Closure of Nuclear Reactor

AU2209185395 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 22 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] France intends to suspend its aid for Bulgaria's Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant if the No. 1 nuclear reactor, which is shut down at the moment for maintenance, is reconnected to the national grid. The French state electricity company Electricite de France made this announcement in Paris today.

The Kozloduy Plant management was warned that if the reactor is restarted, the French company will immediately recall its experts.

It should be remembered that yesterday the EU appealed to Sofia to close down the 440-megawatt reactor of Soviet manufacture on the grounds that it poses a danger for the whole region. The Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant supplies 40 percent of Bulgaria's electric power requirements.

Havel on Bosnia, Worldwide Security, Peace

LD2409190695 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1315 GMT 24 Sep 95

[Interview with Czech President Vaclav Havel by correspondent Eva Hulkova; place and date not given: "Conversations at Lany"—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Hulkova] Mr. President, you met Bosnian intellectuals, artists, and writers last week. Can you tell us what the topic of your discussion was and whether it has any message for us, who live in a country enjoying relative peace and calm atmosphere?

[Havel] [Passage omitted] The war is a war between the principle of civic coexistence and that of an authoritarian, ethnically pure state. As we keep talking about the sides in the conflict or about warring sides, the awareness about who started the whole thing is fading away. We do not like it either when the Germans tell us that atrocities were committed during the deportation [of Germans after World War II from Czechoslovakia] and atrocities were also committed during the war, so we are all in the same position. It is not like that. We know who started it. Now, with regard to Bosnia, we suddenly prefer not to know who was at the beginning. [passage omitted]

[Hulkova] [Passage omitted] Mr. President, you met U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry last week and the two of you held talks together. Did you discuss our integration into the North Atlantic Alliance?

[Havel] Of course I discussed with Mr. Perry our joining NATO as well as other related matters. [passage omitted] I think we can be pleased that Mr. Perry praised our Army and the transformation processes in our country in general. That is quite flattering, but it certainly should not lead to complacency and our thinking that everything is all right, that there is nothing to worry about, and that peace, security, stability, and prosperity are already within our reach.

The situation in the world today is not very good. Six years have already passed since the fall of communism and the fall of the great Soviet hegemony, but we still live in some kind of an interim period. A new and better social order than the one based on the division of the world has not yet been created. If it does not happen soon enough or if important steps aimed at some new, better order are not taken shortly, the situation may become rather dangerous.

The situation in former Yugoslavia should serve as a warning to all people. The state of uncertainty and the fact that some countries are not rooted within democratic structures inevitably result in a situation in which various populists and nationalists of the type of Mr. Zhirinovskiy are gaining support and popularity. One cannot expect anything good from the possible arrival to power of such people because that always results in violence. Such people need to define their own identity, as well as the identity of their nation and state, by identifying an enemy. As a result, they inevitably create an atmosphere for conflict. [passage omitted]

If the international community accepts the principle that whoever may keep whatever he gained with arms in hand, or if the community were to accept this principle in Yugoslavia's case, this would become a great inspiration to all likely warriors anywhere between Ireland and Tajikistan. This will also touch West Europe. It is not the case that only the postcommunist world is struggling with such problems and that the West is not. Europe is indivisible; it is like communicating vessels. It is and always used to be one continent. Whatever happened there affected Europe as a whole.

That is why I believe that Western politicians should not be so restrained and hesitant. They should not keep postponing decisions and setting various conditions to them. I think that already next year it should be clearly said who is going to be admitted into the North Atlantic Alliance or, possibly, what the timetable will be. The alliance should return to its basic document, the Washington Declaration, read it again, and fulfill its original purpose—the defense of democracy and democratic values in the Euro-American civilization. The alliance should get rid of stereotypes from Cold War times and stop stressing that we have to become really perfectly democratic or a perfectly stabilized democracy before we are even considered for NATO membership. [passage omitted]

The Cold War is over. We need to think in a different way. The world needs more daring politicians like Churchill and de Gaulle, who, in the western half of Europe, at least, managed to build democratic orders and achieve reconciliation and cooperation among the nations that for centuries have fought each other. Similar broad-mindedness and courage is needed in the West today because we live in a period of great historical challenge when, for the first time in its history, Europe as a whole can be organized on the principles of equality, peaceful cooperation, and cooperation with the closest civilization partner, the United States or Canada, as well as on cooperation with the great Euro-Asian power, Russia. However, in the beginning it has to be clearly said who belongs where and on what principles cooperation is based. Things cannot indefinitely continue to be fuzzy and uncertain. [passage omitted]

On Czech 'Civil Society'

MS2509102995 London INDEPENDENT in English 25 Sep 95 Section Two pp 2-3

[Report on interview with Vaclav Havel by Adrian Bridge; place and date not given: "A View From Bohemia"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] There is probably not a single day that passes without Vaclav Havel looking out the window of his presidential office and asking: What am I doing here?

The question is a pertinent one, befitting Prague Castle's philosopher-king. Although it is now almost six years since Czechoslovakia's "velvet revolution," the remarkable sequence of events that catapulted the former dissident and playwright to the position of head of state still has a fairy-tale quality to it.

For Havel, moreover, the holding of such high office in itself presents an acute dilemma. As a man who spent most of his adult life castigating those in power, he feels a constant need to justify the fact that it is now he who is exercising it. The view he looks out on—the lush greenery of Prague's Petrin Hill—is, after all, the one that until December 1989 was enjoyed by Gustav Husak, the country's last communist president. The perks and privileges are similar, too.

Havel has his own exacting standards to live up to. As someone firmly excluded from official politics, he spent years propounding a philosophy of "living in truth" and of politics as morality in practice. All politicians should be guided by their consciences and motivated by the goal of selfless service to their fellow human beings, he proclaimed. And he has not been allowed to forget it since becoming president.

Short, thick-set and surprisingly well-preserved for his 58 years (four of which were spent in prison), he still appears slightly ill-at-ease at being the centre of attention. In the course of our 30-minute interview, his hands were rarely still and he managed to smoke his way through four cigarettes.

He began by talking about the direction his country is taking, which, essentially, is the right one, he said: great progress had been made towards building democracy, a market economy, the rule of law and political pluralism. Of course, he conceded, the process of transition was proving more difficult than many had hoped in the euphoric days of December 1989. He expressed sorrow, too, over the fact that Czechoslovakia split into two at the end of 1992—something he personally opposed but was unable to prevent.

The loss of Slovakia has, economically at least, worked very much in the interests of the Czechs. Shorn of its poorer eastern brother, the Czech Republic, now a major tourist attraction, has thrived. With a balanced budget and low debt and unemployment, many now consider that it has moved ahead of its former east European allies in the race to join the Western institutions of NATO and the European Union.

President Havel himself is a keen advocate of the Czech applications to join the two bodies: he called for "greater courage" from the West in embracing the former countries of the Communist East. "There has been uncertainty here for too long and it is necessary to build the new order. Otherwise the way will open for various demons. Events in former Yugoslavia should serve as a memento. There we can see what the demons are capable of."

But as president had he had to compromise some of the principles propounded in his capacity as spokesman for Charter 77 and in essays such as The Power of the Powerless? And what did the concept "living in truth" mean in a country no longer bathed in Communist lies?

"I feel I have not abandoned my basic ideals or values " he insisted. "But in any democratic political environment it is always necessary to take into account a number of different interests, pressures the will of the population. Some concessions are inevitable—otherwise one would he acting as some sort of dictator—but these concessions should not cast doubt on those ideals or values."

The signs of inner conflict are only too apparent. According to some of Havel's critics, moreover, the "necessary concessions" he talks of are nothing less than a sell-out. Whereas he once talked about the need to close down his country's extensive arms industry, he now barely bats an eyelid as Czech-made tanks and rifles roll off the production lines for export to countries such as Syria. Whereas he once spoke of the need to disband both Nato and the Warsaw Pact, it did not take him long, once in office, to come round to championing his country's bid to join the Western military alliance. And whereas he once called for a brave new environmentally-friendly world, he is now wary about criticising the country's undoubtedly controversial nuclear power plants.

That said, even if Havel were to call for the shutdown of all arms and nuclear power facilities, he would not have the power to enforce it. Under the Czech constitution, the presidential role is essentially ceremonial. He can veto bills, but parliament can overturn his veto with a simple majority. He can comment on forthcoming legislation or whatever he likes, but nobody is obliged to listen. Rather than the French or American model, the Czech president is more akin to his German counterpart. Under Havel, moreover, the role has developed into something similar to that once occupied by the former German president Richard von Weizsacker: that of conscience or moral guardian of the nation.

Thus it was Havel who broke ground shortly after assuming office by publicly apologising for the expulsion of the Sudeten Germans from the Czech lands after the Second World War. It was Havel who stuck his neck out by meeting Salman Rushdie when he came to Prague and it has been Havel who has consistently spoken out against any incident of racism and anti-Semitism in his country.

Havel accepts, however, that he has had to modify some of his positions—or at least his expressions of them—as a result of becoming president. He accepts that he is not able to criticise as fiercely and freely as he might, were he a genuinely independent intellectual. But he is convinced that his overall mission to change things for the better can best be achieved working within the political framework. Indeed, he feels that it is his duty to do so. And as far as his own decision-making process goes, "in the end my conscience remains my best judge".

It is difficult not to be a little distracted from all this lofty talk by the image of a clown and a rather scantily-clad woman in a mask that has been painted on to one of the presidential office walls. That rather frivolous image is one of the many artistic innovations Havel introduced to the castle shortly after taking up residence.

Clearly a man of his sensibilities was not going to be able to adapt to the notoriously kitschy taste of his Communist predecessors, but when he decided to change things, he did so with a vengeance, calling in a team of artistic advisors and even ordering a new set of designer-costumes for the presidential guard.

While most of the castle corridors and reception rooms retain a suitably stately feel, the entrance to Havel's personal offices is marked by an explosion of colour, huge splashes of paint surrounding the large portal.

Inside the inner sanctum, modernist and avant-garde paintings on the walls compete with a stunning depiction of the Buddha, a vast map of the ancient kingdom of Bohemia and a selection of old globes and telescopes recalling the days of the Renaissance Emperor Rudolf II, when "the castle was full of magicians, dwarfs and scientists—when we were at the intellectual crossroads of Europe," Havel said.

President he may be, but beneath the more formal exterior (he reluctantly succumbed to suits and ties rather than his favoured jeans and open-necked shirts), Havel likes to maintain and cultivate his artistic links. He counts Mick Jagger among his friends. For a while, he even appointed the late Frank Zappa as an ambassador for Czech culture.

A Bohemian by birth (geographically the term now refers to the largest region of the Czech Republic), Havel is also bohemian by nature. At core, say his friends, he remains an artist, nowhere happier than in a tavern with a glass of beer and the company of pretty and young friends. And for all his emphasis on the need for morality in political life, on a personal level, he has a reputation for having enjoyed several extra-marital affairs.

There is little doubt that Vaclav Havel has left his mark on the walls of Prague castle. But his real aim, of course, is to leave a much deeper legacy. Although he may not possess real political power he does, given who he is, wield enormous influence. Opinion polls show that he remains one of the country's most popular politicians and there is always a large audience for his weekly radio address in which he puts his moral spin on the issues of the day and expounds his vision of a "civil society".

Despite what his detractors say, Havel remains the only politician who is prepared to express uncomfortable home truths and who attempts to articulate a wider vision of where the country should be heading. By a "civil society", he means a community of individuals who take an active interest in and responsibility for their surroundings and a society in which power should be decentralised and, inevitably, driven by morality.

It is not a vision that endears him to the Czech Republic's Thatcherite prime minister Vaclav Klaus (with whom Havel has almost constant clashes), but it is one that seems to strike some chords among ordinary Czechs. Although they do not always understand what their president is saying (he can be both abstruse and pedantic), they feel it is right that he is saying it. They take pride, too, in the fact that Havel's message clearly has resonances way beyond the confines of the relatively small Czech Republic.

In speeches throughout the world, Havel tends to turn his sights away from the particularities of his own country and region, focusing on what he terms the post-modern multicultural era in which "everything is possible, but almost nothing is certain".

Science and the power of rational thought no longer suffice in answering the basic questions of human existence, he argues. There is a spiritual vacuum, a need to reconnect with an authority "higher than man himself". He tends not to use the word God, but he almost could.

"I am no messiah, I have no recipe about how to save the world, no specific faith or religion to offer," he said. "I have only noticed that the spiritual moments are disappearing from the life of society—and that this has many unfortunate consequences.

"Sometimes," he added, "it seems that I am articulating something people themselves feel. I would even say that I am listened to with greater understanding in the West than in the East...but I would not like to go too far concerning my influence on the course of events in this world."

Comment: Perry's Visit Puts Us Closer to NATO

AU2209141595 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 21 Sep 95 p 3

[Commentary by "Ivan Jemelka, Lobster Agency": "Perry in the Czech Republic: Step by Step Toward NATO"]

[FBIS Translated Text] U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry was very polite in the Czech Republic. His visit did not, however, bring an answer to the question of "when and how into NATO."

Perry said that the Czechs had advanced furthest in endeavors to reach a developed democracy and a friendly relationship with its neighbors. One of the reasons cited in the United States for expanding the North Atlantic Alliance is precisely upholding democratic institutions in the postcommunist countries and boosting their willingness to settle mutual conflicts in a peaceful manner. Thus, the U.S. defense secretary indicated that the conceivable admission of the Czech state into NATO would make sense. On the other hand, Perry mentioned his predecessor George Marshall, whose plan for uniting Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals the present U.S. defense secretary described as his model. Thus, Perry made it quite clear to Russia that he would like to include it in the old continent. According to Moscow, however, its participation in the European processes would be completely ruled out precisely by the expansion of the alliance eastward.

Although Perry flattered us by saying that we are in the first position among the East European states en route to NATO, he did not rule out the possibility of shuffling feet in front of the alliance gates until a form of Marshall Plan is found that would be acceptable to Moscow. Hence, the opening of NATO to new members from East Europe remains at an impasse. The willingness of those involved is here, but it could be dangerous without Russia's approval, and no one can expect this approval. Therefore, one plays for time within the framework of the Partnership for Peace plan. It seems that the best suitable way is the system of gradual steps. These include the specific results of Perry's visit to Prague. The Inter-Government Agreement on the Measures for the Protection of Classified Military Information will facilitate future Czech Republic purchases of U.S. arms. The visit by the U.S. defense secretary brought us again a step closer to the North Atlantic Alliance. We are in a situation where we must be grateful even for that.

Commentary Justifies Sacrifices To Join NATO

AU2209135795 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 21 Sep 95 p 1

[Editorial commentary by Stanislav Drahny and Petr Zavadil: "To Modernize? Modernize!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "Of all the countries in Central Europe, the Czech Republic is the one best prepared for admission to NATO, but it must continue in modernizing its Army," U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry said in Prague. Czech Parliament Chairman Uhde observed after talks with the U.S. official that the Czech Army can meet the NATO standards only to the extent of its possibilities. Is it not necessary, then, to create better conditions for the Army, given that our joining the alliance depends, above all, on modernization?

Reactions by several leading Czech politicians indicate that this question is not necessarily Prague's main problem. Voices are beginning to be heard to the effect that the Czech Republic does not at all need to rush into the alliance if Poland is to become a NATO member. That would render the western, southern, and northern borders of the Czech Republic safe. The only possible entry for instability would then be from the east. Under these circumstances, Czech participation in the alliance would be more in the interest of Brussels than of Prague. It is almost impossible to imagine a more paradoxical situation: The countries associated in the North Atlantic Alliance attack the Czech Republic and force it to join their organization.

If we consider integration into the Western defense structures on a purely pragmatic basis, a certain hesitation is advantageous; while the Poles, like any other membership candidate, would spend enormous sums to improve the quality of their Army, the Czech Republic would be quietly becoming richer and trade with its back covered.

What seems the smartest at the moment would not be, however, necessarily the most advantageous approach in the long run. To demonstrate one's affinity with the democratic world even at the cost of certain financial sacrifices, can bring better returns than to lie low cleverly until someone else has dealt with everything.

The success of the North Atlantic Alliance lies, above all, in each of its members sacrificing substantial means from its budget for the benefit of the safety of the West. In other words: Build an army that is fully compatible with the others and capable of taking care of its proportional part of the common strategy. If Czech policy refuses to accept these principles, the question arises: What are the "Western values" that the Czech Republic so proudly endorses and that allegedly are its unquestionable reason for integration into NATO?

After all, it certainly is not in the interest of the Czech Republic to be protected by the West but rather to confirm after an interruption of 50 years that it is an indivisible part of the West.

Foreign Ministry Statement on NATO Document

LD2209194195 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 22 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs has issued a statement on the NATO internal document which outlines the reasons for and the means of NATO expansion. The statement says that the Slovak Republic considers this document to be more evidence proving that the NATO council's decision to expand the number of member states, which was made in December 1994, is irreversible.

The Foreign Ministry statement also says that outlining the essential criteria, which the states applying for the NATO membership have to comply with before their admission, will direct the Slovak Republic in its efforts to join this important transatlantic political and security organization.

Meciar on Perry Visit, Construction at Mochovce

LD2209213895 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 22 Sep 95

[Regular Friday interview with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by correspondent Peter Toman—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Toman] The most important visit to Slovakia was the visit by U.S. Secretary of Defense William Perry, taking place at the beginning of the week. Mr. Perry said that within the Partnership for Peace, Slovakia ranks among the important countries. He also promised higher financial aid for reforms of the armed forces in our country. However, he also said that Slovakia has to lay more stress on democracy and transparency. Prime Minister, how do you view these and other similar warnings issued by Slovakia's important foreign guests?

[Meciar] The visit by Mr. Perry was really very important, as this was the first visit to Slovakia by such a high-ranking official of the U.S. Government. [passage omitted]

Of course, the two sides voiced their views and opinions on all issues. Some of the issues were very positively assessed, the others were a topic for discussion. It is very important that in such talks, we are not in the role of a pupil standing in front of the teacher and waiting to be graded for good manners. We are partners. Even though we are a smaller partner, we are a state and therefore, a partnership spirit must prevail in our talks. We must not infer any internal political directive from an expressed opinion, not even if it is an opinion we respect.

The progress within Partnership for Peace as well as the progress in a jointly agreed program were assessed and the assessment was positive. With regard to some utterances concerning issues that are not quite clear—these are not given in order to judge or condemn the other country. They are made so that another opinion is also heard. We offered our explanation and I believe that we defended our position. Things that are under development have to be viewed within a dynamic, not a static model. That is why there were and will be different opinions. I am sure that if I took the liberty of asking questions about something concerning the United States, this would not be viewed negatively. On the contrary, openness must be a matter of course between friends who want to stay friends. [passage omitted]

[Toman] [Passage omitted] The government's proposal to push through the variant of Slovakia's new territorial-administrative division, which is based on eight regions, became a subject of discussion. This project was criticized by the chairman of the Association of Towns and Villages and by the representatives of the Hungarian Coalition. Is there still any chance for amendments to this proposal?

[Meciar] The territory of the Slovak Republic is integral and indivisible. The territory is not being divided. What is being divided is the administration, and the intention is to set up administrative units having a population of a certain size. This size must be 0.5 million people at least in order for the unit to be capable of an independent social life and of fulfilling the role of a regional center.

The Government of the Slovak Republic has authorized the interior minister to work on the variant of administrative division based on eight regions [oblasts] and on 80 or more subregions [obvods]. This variant has been assessed from all possible points of views and will only become final when passed by the National Council as a law. Until then, it is a subject for further discussion.

The discussion is based on ethnic issues, as the Hungarian [ethnic] parties would prefer an autonomous unit in southern Slovakia. Another, but a similar, view is held by the Party of the Democratic Left. [passage omitted]

Relations between towns and villages, that is between the self-administration on one side and the state administration on the other will continue to develop for several years. It is a process which is going to last some 10 years.

The government has decided to develop this model [based on eight regions] and has made its plans public with the intention to open discussion on the issue and not to end it. [passage omitted]

[Toman] On Tuesday, during its session, the Slovak Government decided to form a holding company which will coordinate the engineering production, and arms production in particular. The completion of the Mochovce nuclear plant is another strategic issue of the Slovak economy. According to a piece of information from Munich, the completion of the Mochovce plant is becoming solely Czech and Russian business. This view has been expressed by a representative of the concern Bayernwerk AG, who referred to your letter. Could you, Prime Minister, confirm these views?

[Meciar] [passage omitted] As for Bayernwerk, this concern knew our priorities back in 1990. In 1992, we signed a memorandum. Bayernwerk has not delivered anything agreed on in this memorandum. One of the reasons why the works at the Mochovce plant have been delayed relates to the fact that Bayernwerk has not complied with the bilateral agreement. So when they told us this year that they would not be taking part in the project, we acknowledged it. However, they do not have to blame us for it. The fault is theirs—they set conditions and ultimata which are unacceptable for any partnership. The completion of the Mochovce nuclear plant is going ahead. French and German experts will be present, but there will be no Bayernwerk.

[Toman] As estimated by the trade union leaders, approximately 20,000 people are likely to attend the protest rally in Bratislava tomorrow. Alojz Englis, the chairman of the Confederation of Trade Unions in Slovakia, says that the rally is not against this government but against the inadequate approach to the problems since 1990. To what degree will this rally affect the relations between the government, the trade unions, and the employers, and in particular, what effect will it have on the relationship between the government and the trade unions?

[Meciar] A rally is a democratic method of both expressing one's interests and goals and applying pressure. However, this rally—the way it is being organized, its timing, and the arguments used—has led to certain displeasure on our side. We are disenchanted because we have trusted the trade unions, we have accepted them openly and as partners. We are complying meticulously with all the agreements. [passage omitted]

Now, when we are outlining the economic policies for 1996, we again invite the trade unions to the negotiating table. We are proposing both small-scale and large-scale social dialogue. We want to inform the trade unions about the draft economic policies. At the same time, however, it has to be said that life does not wait. If the trade unions do not accept our proposal for talks, if they do not accept the government's offers, the laws will be passed without them. Then the trade unionists can blame one another and debate who is responsible.

On Reducing Political 'Tension'

LD2209214095 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1930 GMT 22 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] There are three ways of doing away with the tension between parliament and the president, and the government and the president. Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar said so at a meeting with the citizens of Trencin, held at the end of the government's itinerant session in this town.

Meciar said the first possibility was for parliament to adopt a constitutional law ending President Michal Kovac's mandate without investigation. According to the second alternative, parliament would investigate causes leading to political changes since 1994 until now. In the prime minister's view, the third way was an all-citizen referendum.

Meciar pointed out that the government was interested in a democratic way of tackling this dispute. He said that the development of Slovakia's social and economic sector gave grounds to optimism. In his view, this was confirmed by the fact that Slovakia is the only postcommunist country with foreign currency reserves being higher than the debt.

HZDS Calls For Resignation of President Kovac

LD2309162095 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1500 GMT 23 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At a meeting held in Dubnik near Stara Tura today, the national presidium of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] adopted a statement on Slovakia's internal political situation. In the statement, the HZDS voices its full support for the government and its statement of 19 September in which the government calls on Michal Kovac to step down as president.

DU Urges President To Stay

LD2309184995 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 23 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The national board of the Democratic Union of Slovakia [DU] held its meeting in Trnava today. [passage omitted]

According to Deputy Chairman Ludovit Cernak, the long discussion, in which the board focussed on domestic politics, resulted in an unambiguous support for President Michal Kovac. The DU board is asking the president not to give in to the pressure exerted by the government coalition, and to remain in the post because, in the DU's view, the present struggle for the president symbolizes the struggle for democracy in Slovakia.

With regard to the three ways of getting rid of the president, as announced by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, Ludovit Cernak said the DU believed the government coalition would not gain sufficient support in parliament to be able to take any steps against the president, especially not to cut his time in the office or to dismiss him. As regards the referendum, the DU deputy chairman said he believed Michal Kovac would come out of it on the winning side.

Ludovit Cernak said the DU had delegated its Deputy Chairman Roman Kovac to the trade union protest rally held in Bratislava today because the DU thought a well-functioning tripartite body is very important. He said the present efforts of the government and especially of the prime minister to break up the trade unions and to bribe employers with good privatization deals were a threat to the balance within the tripartite. [passage omitted]

Editorial Sees Perry's Visit as Positive Sign

AU2209162395 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 22 Sep 95 p 7

[Editorial by Janos T. Barabas: "NATO Threshold"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After U.S. Secretary of Defense William Perry's visit, which has just ended—and which will be followed in a few days by the visit of General Shalikashvili, commander of the Joint Chiefs of Staff—almost all important U.S. military leaders will have visited Budapest. This favored attention can presumably be attributed more to the recognition of our politics and efforts than to our strategic importance or the significance of our armed forces. As for our intentions to become integrated in NATO, we are indeed among the first ones. While politicians seem to have forgotten even the name of the Visegrad group, military cooperation of the four countries can be said to be excellent. NATO's requirements play an important role in this. Perry's visit was partly addressed to our strategic situation, whose importance has increased due to the south Slav situation, but perhaps even more to the fact that, out of the region's countries, we have made most progress in equipping our air force with the friend or foe recognition systems and in setting up a radar umbrella covering the country's entire airspace. With the help of this, if the equivalent systems are also set up in Poland, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia, it will be possible to oversee the—now altogether—huge airspace of these four countries from a single center. With this, we will contribute to West Europe's security more significantly than if we replaced all our armored vehicles and guns with the most modern types. It is no accident that the United States renders most help to implementing precisely this plan.

Perry promised some $10 million in aid to our Army—which is a drop in the ocean. Should we get offended? It is time for us to grow up and recognize that, among many other things, we ourselves must also solve the defense of our country, and although we can expect help from our friends, we cannot expect them to provide for our maintenance.

From Perry's words, it seemed as if our admission to NATO only depended on the Army's civilian control and its adjustment to NATO's standards. However, it would be a mistake to take these words as more than politeness. These are necessary but not sufficient conditions for NATO membership. It is mainly dependent on a political decision, which will not be made easily or soon. We have made the West face a major dilemma with our request for membership. Although the Soviet Union is dead, Russia is alive, and even if it is a bit poor now, ignoring the force represented by it as a nuclear power would be lethal. And Moscow has already expressed many times that it considers the admission of our region's countries to NATO as a threat to its vital interests.

In connection with various crises—like the Chechen or the south Slav crises, for example—many Hungarian commentators have expressed the hope that the armed actions threatening the freedom and independence of small nations make the need for our admission more evident to NATO. I am convinced—and this has also been confirmed by private conversations I had with high-ranking NATO officers in the Marshall Center in Germany—that, unfortunately, precisely the opposite is true. If we look at the issue from the direction of NATO's interests, rather than from the viewpoint of our wishes, it is logical to ask: Why should this organization admit new members which will decrease, rather than increase, its security? With their admittance, NATO's borders would get closer to potential or already existing seats of war.

The real question is what road the West will take: Will it go to the extreme in making compromises with Moscow, sacrificing everyone and everything, so as not to incite the Russians against itself, or will it be ready to take certain risks to increase its power and its security—also taking into account the not insignificant psychological motive that the new democracies should not feel themselves to be betrayed. For the time being, opinions are divided in NATO, but Perry's visit and the Hungarian-U.S. military cooperation appear to suggest that the leaders of the United States would not like to repeat the mistakes made before World War II.

Spokesman Says 200 Bosnian Refugees Seek Shelter

AU2309152295 Paris AFP in English 1433 GMT 23 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Budapest, Sept 23 (AFP)—A group of 200 Bosnians sought temporary shelter in Hungary on Saturday [23 September], Border Guard spokesman Attila Krisan said.

The group, which consisted of 33 children, 72 women and 95 men, fled Serbia and entered Hungary at the Hercegszanto border station and would be sheltered at a new refugee camp in the eastern city of Debrecen, Krisan said.

He added that during the past few months, some 2,000 people from Serbia had taken refuge in Hungary.

In a separate development, border guards found two handguns, 126 pieces of ammunition and two bullet-proof vests in a car with Yugoslav license plates, entering Hungary at the Roszke border point with the rump Yugoslavia, Krisan said.

A Yugoslav and a Croat citizen were travelling in the car, he said.

Sweden Backs Option To Fund FRY Refugees

LD2409145495 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 24 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] It seems that Scandinavian countries' recent agreement on a novel solution to manage the northward flow of refugees [from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia—FRY] is already moving toward implementation.

Bjoern Weibo, director of the Swedish immigration office, announced this weekend that the UNHCR had appealed to European countries for help to accommodate at least 500 refugees from former Yugoslavia. Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden recently agreed to help, that the refugees should obtain refuge primarily in peaceful states geographically close to their homeland.

In this sense, Hungary, which declared that it had at least 1,500 vacant places but had no money to provide the potential refugees' material needs, could be an excellent solution. For, as the Swedish immigration official pointed out, the money that could cater for 100 refugees at the most in Sweden, would be sufficient to support at least 400 in Hungary.

Therefore, the Swedes will soon start financing several hundreds of refugees in Hungary, he said.

I have asked Bela Jungbert, director general of the Hungarian Office for Refugee and Migration Affairs, about the realism of this Nordic idea.

[Begin recording] [Jungbert] We have not received any formal or official request from the Scandinavian countries. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified correspondent] Would it not be worthwhile for the Hungarian Government and the Hungarian state to allow foreign countries to financially support the refugees here?

[Jungbert] We are not talking about Western financial help for the existing refugees but about the West's wish to redirect a larger number of refugees to Hungary. However, Hungary is not prepared, either from an infrastructure or from other points of view, to receive from Western countries a greater number of refugees so that they could wait here, instead of there, for a solution. [passage omitted]

The Hungarian Government will respond officially and in good time to this proposal. I feel that, alluding to various reasons, we should refuse. Instead we should ask and receive help to meet the growing [refugee-related] burdens at the current level, to ensure that we can cater to the refugees already in Hungary. [end recording]

Serb Refugees Settle in Vojvodina Hungarian Homes

LD2409213595 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 24 Sep 95

[From "The Week" program; passages contained within quotation marks are recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The government has tried to protest at the UN General Assembly against the mass settlement of Serb refugees but, as our film report from Vojvodina [Vajdasag] shows, the radical changing of ethnic ratios can hardly be prevented.

[Correspondent] [Passage omitted] In Doroslovo [Doroszto], in western Backa, where Hungarians are in the majority, more and more pressure is being put on the villagers. The forceful occupation of homes is not a rare occurrence. [passage omitted]

The representatives of the authorities blindly swear that they take a hard approach against everyone, refugees included, who threatens the physical well-being of any Yugoslav citizen or who tries to seize his assets or property by force.

[Redzep Hodza, in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed translation, identified by caption as a Yugoslav ministry official] "According to the data at the disposal of the federal government, so far there have been no serious incidents between the original inhabitants and the refugees in those villages where the population is made up of several nationalities. I would submit that the organs of the federal republic take an equally hard stance in such cases. We have not allowed and neither will we allow in the future anyone to force his way into the home of a Croat or a citizen of any other nationality."

[Correspondent] The representatives of the parties would like to exploit the refugee wave among other things for political point-scoring. The movement called United Yugoslav Left-Wing is no exception, either. Its founder is none other than Mirjana Markovic, the wife of Serb President Milosevic, and its chairman is the director, Ljubisa Risztics [identified by caption], who was not a little instrumental in the past in dismantling the Hungarian section of the Subotica [Szabadka] theater. [passage omitted]

[Risztics, in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed translation] "If we are speaking specifically about Vojvodina, then it is the duty of the Hungarians here to give bread to the poor refugees, shelter to the homeless. The duty of the Serbs, not only in Vojvodina but also in Serbia and Yugoslavia, is to protect their Hungarian neighbors from those primitive incomers who use violent pressure, to ensure for the Hungarians undisturbed cultural and economic development, so that they might feel safe in their own country, here, where they were born and where they live."

[Correspondent] There is no need for a special introduction to the chetnik duke, Seselj. However, he sees the future to be very bleak in the refugee issue.

[Seselj, in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed translation] "The Serbs must return to the Serb lands. They should not remain here permanently in Serbia or Yugoslavia. Their place is there, in the Bosnian and Krajina Serb republics."

[Correspondent] "Don't you think that this new refugee wave could cause further ethnic tensions or even clashes in multiethnic areas such as Vojvodina, Kosovo, or the central part of Serbia?"

[Seselj] "No, there will be no clashes here because the refugees are only here temporarily. There could be a real danger [word indistinct] if we lose the Krajina and the Bosnian Serb republic. Then it is certain that about another million and a half Serb refugees will come here."

[Correspondent] "Where will they be sent?"

[Seselj] "There will be a huge logjam here if that happens. A catastrophic situation will develop whose outcome I cannot now estimate."

[Correspondent] It is to be hoped that Duke Seselj's gloomy prediction will not be realized. The actual situation at present is sufficiently gloomy for the representatives of Vojvodina's Hungarians to seek help from leaders in the mother country and in their homeland and to ring the alarm bell.

[Unidentified Hungarian male voice] "Well, the first wave of Krajina Serbs, who came here at the beginning of August, did indeed use force in the houses of the Vojvodina Hungarians or the houses of the Croats when they moved in. It was frightening and terrifying. The sequel is taking place now. They are not using force, but they have tried to get into the houses by fraudulent means. I could say that not only they, the Krajina Serbs, but the Serb extremist elements, or parties, who support them, are the ones who have brought this about. What we expect from the mother country is that, just as it is laid down in the Hungarian state's, in the Hungarian Government's program, they also take us into account, that they consider us, too, to be a part of the Hungarian nation and they treat this issue in this manner, so we ask protection from the mother country. But in the same way, we ask for protection from the president of the Serb republic, from the president of the Yugoslav Federal Republic as well."

Kovacs Reacts to Romanian Reconciliation Proposal

LD2209214995 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1730 GMT 22 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Romanian ambassador to Budapest has presented to Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs three draft documents, including Romanian President Iliescu's draft proposal for Romanian-Hungarian historical reconciliation. The other draft outlines the Hungarian-Romanian partnership cooperation agreement, while the third formulates a code of behavior concerning ethnic nationalities.

[Begin Kovacs recording] The Foreign Ministry, naturally, has immediately begun studying the documents. At this stage, I can only say that we very much agree with the idea of historical reconciliation. It would be an illusion, however, to expect historical reconciliation without settling the disputed issues first. These include questions, and I am thinking of the rights of minorities, which can be settled only by legal means because the existing problems themselves have been created by legal procedures. I have in mind the [Romanian] Education Law, or the more recent [Romanian] law on the public playing or singing of the national anthem of another country. [end recording]

Horn's Poll Rating Down, Defense Minister's Up

AU2109131195 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 19 Sep 95 pp 1, 4

[Correspondent's report: "Horn's Standing Has Deteriorated, Keleti's Has Improved"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Commissioned by NEPSZAVA, the Marketing Centrum National Opinion Poll Institute again conducted its regular survey on the politicians' popularity between 1 and 4 September. The deepest coalition crisis so far was under way at the time of the poll, and it only transpired after the poll that the coalition parties would stay together. The debate between the government parties upset the public, but hardly influenced the public's opinion about the politicians. Among the 25 politicians on the list, the confidence index of only two politicians changed more than the error margin, namely that of [Defense Minister] Gyorgy Keleti (improved by six points) and that of [Prime Minister] Gyula Horn (decreased by four points). The latter is obviously connected with the coalition crisis and, consequently, the evaluation of the prime minister dropped to the low rate registered in July. In the case of Gyorgy Keleti, the improvement is probably due to the fact that he made firm measures and statements—that did not threaten anyone—in connection with the war tension affecting Hungary's southern borders.

The list of politicians this time included Laszlo Kovacs, Karoly Lotz, and Imre Szekeres. At the same time, we dropped Laszlo Bekesi, Judit Csehak, Gyorgy Szabad, and Peter Zwack from the list, people who, though more popular than the ministers, do not fill any public function. Besides, the questionnaires continue to include 50 names. This time, the list also contained the names of Miklos Nemeth and Imre Pozsgay. The name of the former prime minister, who has left politics, is beginning to fade from public awareness, and his recognition [ismertseg] dropped from 99 percent, measured at the time he was active prime minister, to 87 percent. At the same time, Miklos Nemeth continues to be very popular: His confidence index was 67 points, something that guaranteed him second place on the list of politicians, after Arpad Goncz. The fact that a relative majority of people would still welcome him as prime minister shows the widespread nostalgia for the Nemeth-cabinet.

Besides, 4 percent fewer people answered this question with the name of some politician than in August. At the same time, the percentage who mentioned Miklos Nemeth has doubled from 7 to 14 percent. This phenomenon is probably the result of the conflict within the coalition. Many people remember the Nemeth-cabinet and its stability when they see the current coalition crisis.

Imre Pozsgay did not leave politics; he was only forced out of the main line. Consequently, his recognition reached 91 percent, as almost always and, regarding his confidence index, he would take a place between Viktor Orban and Laszlo Surjan. This place is slightly more favorable than his place a few years ago. In his case, it is not true that people are thinking more favorably about him now than before; actually, confidence in the other politicians has generally dropped, while it has not changed toward him, because he has not appeared much in public recently.

The two ministers newly included on the list of 25 politicians are among the more popular cabinet members. The evaluation of Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs is particularly favorable. This means that, as opposed to the representatives of opposition parties, the public follows this government's foreign policy line with understanding. Gyorgy Keleti has become more popular, especially among followers of the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP] and the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKGP], and this also means that the defense minister now divides society politically less than in August. Gyula Horn's evaluation among the followers of the opposition parties has hardly changed and continues to be very unfavorable, but his popularity dropped considerably (by more than 10 points) among supporters of the Alliance of Free Democrats. This also led to the situation in which the prime minister's confidence index is identical with that of FKGP Chairman Jozsef Torgyan among SZDSZ supporters.

Coalition Dispute: HSP Urges Sensible Compromise

LD2309181295 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 23 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sensible compromise. This is the phrase used by the National Executive of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] in the resolution with which it has authorized the party presidium and HSP Chairman Gyula Horn to end the dispute within the government coalition. Karoly Levai reports.

[Levai] In the present political situation and in accordance with the spirit of last year's Congress resolutions and the government program, the National Executive supports the efforts of the National Presidium and the prime minister to reach a sensible compromise agreement with the coalition partner.

The executive also supports the proposal for a comprehensive analysis of the work of the government coalition and the use of that analysis to settle organizational and personnel issues, the communique reads.

Asked to define the phrase, sensible compromise, HSP Executive Deputy Chairman Sandor Csintalan said that it meant that both sides had to make concessions. This notion, by the way, was also reflected in the contributions to the debate in the Executive because, while the contributors supported the maintenance of the coalition, they also emphasized that they wanted to see similar efforts by the Alliance of Free Democrats, too.

Several speakers said that there was a need for a coalition within the HSP itself, although Gyorgy Wiener, deputy chairman of the National Executive, emphasized that the various tendencies within the HSP agreed on the fundamentally important questions.

Government To Boycott Talks in New York

LD2409182495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 24 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Shortly before we came on the air we received the following statement from the office of Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina:

In view of the fact that the Serb side has failed to respond positively to our constructive proposals for further work on the details of the principles contained in the Geneva document, our Minister of Foreign Affairs Muhamed Sacirbegovic has been instructed not to attend the tripartite meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs scheduled for 26 September in New York. Minister Sacirbegovic has already conveyed our standpoint to Richard Holbrooke, U.S. assistant secretary of state.

Silajdzic Comments on Boycott

LD2409193795 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 24 Sep 95

[Statement by Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic on 24 September; place not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] I think the meeting planned for 26 September in New York will be postponed because we are not satisfied with the course of the talks. It is the question of our vital interests and the establishment of.... [pauses] We want guarantees for the future state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, so there can be no secession of one or more of its parts. This guarantee must be stated explicitly. As far as I know, this is what we asked for. Some of our demands have not been met and I think the meeting will be cancelled. I think that President Izetbegovic has already made an announcement to that effect. [passage omitted]

President Cancels Plan To Address UN Assembly

AU2309134295 Paris AFP in English 2245 GMT 22 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] United Nations, Sept 22 (AFP)—Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic has canceled plans to address the General Assembly next week but will attend a summit here next month of heads of state and government, a spokesman said Friday [22 September].

Bosnian mission charge d'affaires Ivan Misic said Izetbegovic preferred to remain in Sarajevo during important developments in the Balkan crisis.

Bosnian Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic will replace the president and give Bosnia's address before the 50th General Assembly, the official added. Sacirbegovic is to attend new peace talks next week with Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on the sidelines of the General Assembly.

Izetbegovic is to attend the summit meeting of some 150 government and state leaders October 22-24, according to Misic.

Izetbegovic Holds Talks With U.S. Delegation

LD2309181795 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 23 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] President Izetbegovic today held talks with a delegation of the U.S. Agency for International Development, headed by Director Brian Atwood.

The delegation conveyed the congratulations of the U.S. government and public on our consistent commitment to democracy and the results achieved under these difficult circumstances. It said that programs and means for the economic recovery of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina will be coming soon.

President Izetbegovic welcomed the visit by this important U.S. delegation and invited its members to start helping the resumption of production and the building of refugee settlements even before the final peace agreement is reached. We are people who prefer work to war, President Izetbegovic said.

Following the talks, journalists were addressed by Atwood and Hasan Muratovic, a minister in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government who is a member of the delegation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. [passage omitted]

Silajdzic Says Secession Issue Threatens Talks

LD2409220295 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 24 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Following his several-day long visit to the towns of the Una-Sana canton [western Bosnia], which he toured at the head of a high-ranking government delegation, Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic returned to Sarajevo today. Our reporter Mehmedalija Sisic spoke to Prime Minister Silajdzic about this working visit and some topical foreign policy issues.

[Begin recording] [Sisic] Mr. Prime Minister, a little while ago you told Bosnia-Herzegovina TV that the meeting scheduled to take place in New York will most likely be postponed or rather cancelled. What exactly is at issue?

[Silajdzic] Well, the problem is that we are not satisfied with the course of negotiations between Mr. Holbrooke and Milosevic in Belgrade, and that concerns our vital interests or rather the forms and existence of our future state. In Geneva we agreed that Bosnia-Herzegovina will continue to exist legitimately as a sovereign state, as a single state within its historical and internationally recognized borders; that it has its institutions, its Constitution, parliament, the presidency and government, in other words all that is necessary to implement the Constitution and to safeguard the integrity of our state.

We are not satisfied with some of the points. For instance, we insisted that the document stated explicitly that there will be no secession from Bosnia-Herzegovina, that Bosnia-Herzegovina will not be divided, that this should be stated explicitly.

I do not know what is happening now, but I know that most likely the talks failed to produce satisfactory results and that in that case there will be no meeting. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Government May Pursue Offensive to Banja Luka

AU2309134095 Paris AFP in English
0816 GMT 23 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Sept 23 (AFP)—Bosnians may continue their offensive, even pursue it to Banja Luka, Bosnian political and military officials warned despite speculation that the war in Bosnia may be over very soon.

Sarajevo independent daily OSLOBODENJE in its Saturday [23 September] issue quoted General Atif Dudakovic, the commander of the Bosnian 5th Corps, as saying: "Our goal is that the units of the 5th and 7th Corps (of Bosnian Army) meet in Banja Luka."

The northern town of Banja Luka, the biggest Serb-held city in the country, has been threatened by the Bosnian 5th Corps operating from northwestern Bihac area and 7th Corps operating from central Bosnia and the allied forces of Croatians and Bosnian Croats.

The Bosnian Government said this week they would not pursue the offensive on Banja Luka if the rebel Bosnian Serbs demilitarize the city and integrate it peacefully into government-controlled Bosnia.

But Bosnian Premier Haris Silajdzic told OSLOBODENJE during his Friday visit to Bihac: "If it is in the interest of our defence we will go against Banja Luka."

The 7th Corps is made exclusively from Moslem refugees expelled in 1992 from northwestern Bosnia, also known as Bosnian Krajina, and their officers have always claimed their aim was to return to their homes and link with the 5th Corps in Banja Luka.

"Bosnian Krajina is one and there cannot be two armies there—only one," Dudakovic said.

Silajdzic said the government troops would "if need be" fight without the aid of the regular troops of the Republic of Croatia.

The international community put pressure on Croatia to halt its participation in the offensive in northwestern and central Bosnia where they have been helping the Bosnian Croats.

Dudakovic Warns of Attack

AU2509080995 Paris AFP in English
2159 GMT 24 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Sept 24 (AFP)—Bosnian Army 5th Corps commander General Atif Dudakovic said late Sunday that an attack by government forces on the rebel Serb stronghold of Banja Luka in northwestern Bosnia would take place soon.

In an interview broadcast on Bosnian television, Dudakovic said Bosnian forces would "pursue the Chetniks (the separatist Serbs) for as long as they remain in (Bosnian) Krajina," as the territory of northwestern Bosnia is known.

The general, the most popular of Bosnia's army commanders, was speaking shortly after the presidency announced that Bosnia would not take part in crucial three-party talks scheduled for Tuesday in New York because the Serbs had not responded to Sarajevo's demand for concessions on the ground.

Dudakovic said Saturday that the Bosnian army objective was that its 5th Corps in the north and its 7th Corps in the centre should link up at Banja Luka.

The Belgrade-based agency TANJUG said fighting was in progress Sunday at several points around Banja Luka, the largest Serb-held town in Bosnia and the lynchpin for their presence in northwestern Bosnia.

Sarajevo radio said meanwhile that Bosnian Serb helicopters had flown more than 80 missions Sunday along the narrow east-west Posavina corridor linking northwestern Bosnia to eastern Bosnia and Serbia proper. Aircraft missions had also been reported, despite the imposition of a United Nations-mandated no-fly zone over Bosnia.

Two people, a man and a woman, were wounded Sunday by snipers in Sarajevo, the radio added.

Silajdzic Says Military Operations Must Continue

LD2309182095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 23 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Haris Silajdzic, prime minister of the Republic and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, was in Zagreb today following his visit to the newly liberated areas in the Una-Sana canton. On this occasion, the prime minister gave an interview to our correspondent Nada al-Isa:

[Begin recording] [al-Isa] Could you please tell us as directly as possible whether Bosnian Army military operations in western Bosnia, that is, operations in the direction of Banja Luka, have been halted?

[Silajdzic] The most direct answer: they have not been halted. And they should not be halted because the enemy operations have not been halted.

We are in our country and we are defending ourselves from the aggression. As long as the enemy continues its aggression, these operations cannot and will not be halted.

[al-Isa] How do you [words indistinct]? For instance, why didn't they react earlier on? There were Srebrenica, Zepa, Sarajevo, Bihac. They have never made an ultimatum demanding from the aggressor what they are demanding now from the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

[Silajdzic] [words indistinct] The international community is not here to defeat the Serb fascist army and the Serb aggression, but to act in line with its interests; and the current interest of the international community, and specifically its main factors, is peace. This is a consequence of the domestic political dynamics in European countries, and we should see this for what it is. So, in the international community ... [pauses] today I said everything that should have been said, but in this case I can tell you the following: the international community is not here to defeat the Serb terrorists but to see peace being established even if that means that unprincipled compromises have to be made. It is up to us to see that such compromises are not made.

[al-Isa] We know that there is the 51:49 Contact Group plan. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army is liberating its country. Will the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army be allowed to change the maps on the ground?

[Silajdzic] The maps are one thing and military operations are a totally different thing. Military operations are being planned, launched and resumed until a peace is reached. The maps and their drawing is a consequence of certain political and diplomatic circumstances, but in essence what is important is what is done on the ground.

That's why I said that as long as there is no peace, military operations must continue, we must remain active toward the enemy who is again active.

As far as the maps are concerned, they are here but this is another topic of discussion. Naturally, it is easier to talk about the maps, at least as far as we are concerned, when we have behind us a military power, when we are not in the position to ask the UN to halt shelling of towns, enemy attacks. Now we can do that ourselves [words indistinct].

This is a totally different situation, and hence the 5th Corps specifically, as well as other corps, will work on the liberation of the country until a peace is reached.

[al-Isa] [words indistinct] the aggressor's side in Banja Luka, now that Banja Luka is in the news, was presented with an ultimatum—if one can put it that way—by when should Banja Luka be demilitarized?

[Silajdzic] There was talk of deadlines, but the most important thing is that they agree to that and then, of course, many issues will be resolved. As far as I know, unfortunately, many civilian casualties and much suffering could be avoided; they do not want to demilitarize Banja Luka and this is a great [words indistinct].

[al-Isa] Could the following be a solution: that the Sarajevo model—namely, that the aggressor's side withdraws heavy weapons 20 km from the city—be applied to Banja Luka?

[Silajdzic] This would be a strong indication that they really want peace and that they are ready for a final peace. The withdrawal of heavy weapons, as around Sarajevo, some kind of demilitarization would be an indication. [sentence as heard]

[al-Isa] But until then, will the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army continue?

[Silajdzic] Until then the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army must remain active toward the enemy who is active. They have not halted their military operations, they have not stopped waging war, they have not stopped seizing our land. They have occupied the areas which we want to liberate. Until there is peace, there is war, and the army only does its job in a war. [end recording]

Silajdzic: Total Liberation 'Only Peace Plan'

AU2309182195 Paris AFP in English
1730 GMT 23 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Zagreb, Sept 23 (AFP)—Fighting will continue in Bosnia-Herzegovina until a peace accord is finally signed, and until then the only peace plan is "the liberation of Bosnia in its entirety," Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic said here Saturday [23 September].

His warning came as the commander of the Bosnian 5th Corps in northwestern Bosnia, General Atif Dudakovic, quoted by the independent Sarajevo daily OSLOBODENJE, said Bosnian forces might continue their offensive as far as the Serb stronghold of Banja Luka.

"The only existing plan at the present time is for the liberation of Bosnia in its entirety," Silajdzic told reporters here after a visit to the northwest Bosnian region of Bihac, disenclaved last month after the collapse of a Croatian Serb rebellion in the adjoining Krajina region.

"Military action will not end until a peace treaty has been signed," he said.

He ruled out a halt to fighting on the grounds that the approximate fifty-fifty division of Bosnia-Herzegovina into a Croat-Moslem federation and a Serb entity had been achieved on the ground by means of the Croat-Moslem offensive.

"That is speculation," he said. "The Bosnian Serbs refused the plan for more than a year. We shall not stop until the enemy has convinced us that he really wants peace."

Sarajevo was looking for "serious signs regarding the demilitarisation of Banja Luka," he added.

The Bosnian authorities have offered a deal with "responsible" local officials in Banja Luka, the largest Serb-held town in the country, that would allow Serb residents to remain there on condition that rebel Serb armed forces withdrew.

Silajdzic also called for an improvement of relations within the Croat-Moslem federation to facilitate the distribution of territory regained by their joint forces.

"Our relations could be better," he admitted. "We have not made much progress since the Washington accords (of March 1994) but we have always managed to resolve our differences by dialogue."

The federation formed last year following U.S. mediation has amounted so far to little more than an institutionalised ceasefire, with many of the original provisions for joint administration, joint police patrols and so on being observed mainly in the breach.

Clashes between Bosnian Croat and government forces were reported in western Bosnia earlier in the week. [passage omitted]

Silajdzic Comments on Croat-Bosniak Relations

LD2309203795 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 23 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic held a news conference today at which he spoke about the current situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Nada al-Issa reports: [passage omitted]

[al-Issa] Asked about relations between Bosniaks and Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and whether he knew that the Bosniaks were prevented from returning to Jajce, the prime minister said that relations between Croats and Bosniaks could be better. We have not made a big progress since the signing of the Washington agreement. The clashes have stopped, but not much more has been done. The prime minister said that he had heard that the return of Bosniaks to Jajce was hampered. This is a contravention of the Washington agreement and all other agreements, and it will certainly not contribute to the improvement of relations between Croats and Bosniaks, Prime Minister Silajdzic said.

Sacirbegovic Says Russian Peacekeepers Acceptable

LD2309110195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 23 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Bosnian Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic has stated that Bosnia-Herzegovina would recognize Russian forces as part of the peacekeeping forces under certain conditions.

We do not want to see a situation like that in East and West Germany, Sacirbegovic said at a news conference in Washington after his talks on the peace process in Bosnia-Herzegovina with U.S. State Secretary Warren Christopher and officals from the Defense and Finance Departments.

The minister said Russian forces could be used as peacekeeping forces in our country under carefully specified conditions and that they would have to operate on the basis of equality with other countries' forces.

Sacirbegovic Condemns Bombardment of Zenica

LD2209210695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 22 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just received the following piece of news from the BH news agency:

In response to the latest chetnik attack on civilians in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which was launched at Zenica around 1900 this evening, Muhamed Sacirbegovic, foreign minister of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, has sent a message to the UN Security Council.

Minister Sacirbegovic stressed that weapons of mass destruction, the firing of four Orkan cluster bombs—banned under international law and used exclusively for mass murder—were used in the attack. Minister Sacirbegovic stressed in his letter that Zenica is not on the front line, and that it could not have possibly been a military target of the aggressors' artillery. Minister Sacirbegovic stressed again that the current political leaders on the aggressor side are not ready to consider establishing peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina and pointed to the need that they be removed, which the Bosnia-Herzegovina side has said on several occasions recently.

The Bosnia-Herzegovina foreign minister stressed in his message that the attack came at the time when the Bosnia-Herzegovina government is offering a peace solution by accepting the general principles from Geneva and by addressing several messages to the Serb population in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. President Izetbegovic and Minister Sacirbegovic have recently on several occasions called on the Serb population in the temporarily occupied areas to accept the peaceful reintegration of Bosnia-Herzegovina and, by accepting the Geneva principles, voiced readiness to solve the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis by peaceful means.

Talks Reportedly Under Way To Undermine Karadzic

MS2509144595 London THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH in English 24 Sep 95 p 24

[Report by Tim Judah: "Bosnia Moves to Split Serbs and Topple Karadzic"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Bosnian government has started secret talks with the Bosnian Serbs in an attempt to undermine the Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, the SUNDAY TELEGRAPH has learned.

Bosnian government sources confirmed last night that the talks had taken place with the ultimate aim of dividing the Bosnian Serbs and encouraging Karadzic's overthrow.

Muhamed Filipovic, the Bosnian ambassador to London, said: "There have been some meetings in the last week with representatives of the civil authorities in Banja Luka and members of the opposition to Karadzic."

Mr Filipovic would not say where the meetings had taken place.

Banja Luka, with a population of more than 200,000 and now crammed with tens of thousands of Bosnian Serb refugees, has always been a centre of opposition to Mr Karadzic.

However, that opposition has been divided between extreme nationalist factions and those prepared to follow the lead set by the Serbian President, Slobodan Milosevic.

Last winter, Mr Karadzic was forced to eliminate "Typhoon", a rogue intelligence outfit based in Banja Luka which he believed might form the nucleus of a coup against him.

Before that, the city was the setting of the only major Bosnian Serb military mutiny during the war.

Throughout the war, Predrag Radic, mayor of Banja Luka, has kept up sporadic contacts with mayors on the other side of the front-line and was far less hostile to the Contact Group plan to divide Bosnia than many other Bosnian Serb leaders.

Last week, after striking gains of Serb-held territory by the Bosnian-Croat alliance brought troops to within 15 miles of Banja Luka, the Bosnian President, Alija Izetbegovic, called on the Bosnian Serb military to withdraw from the city and for its civilian leadership to enter talks with the government. Half, at least, of his demands may have now been granted.

The new talks may be a political breakthrough for the embryonic Bosnian Serb opposition. Several months ago a small group of Bosnian Serb deputies met in Italy with opposition politicians from Sarajevo.

Since then, they have attracted little political support but, in view of the vastly changed political and military landscape in Bosnia, many politicians are bound to be considering whether it is time to abandon Mr Karadzic's sinking ship.

With the Sarajevo government committed, albeit very reluctantly, to recognising an autonomous Serb republic with Bosnia, ministers are desperate to find "politically correct" Serbs to talk to there.

They have stated on several occasions that the current Bosnian Serb leadership are unacceptable "war criminals." Since his split with the Bosnian Serbs in August last year, President Milosevic has also sought to find a replacement for Mr Karadzic but has singularly failed.

Meanwhile, tensions are also mounting between Croats and Muslims over the division of the land they have captured from the Bosnian Serbs during the last two weeks.

When they took Jajce 10 days ago, the Bosnian Croats raised their flag over the town and are now refusing to permit the return of its Muslim refugees. They are also reported to have changed the name of Bosasnko Grahovo to "Croatian" as opposed to "Bosnian" Grahovo.

The move is symbolically important, as it signals Croatian intent in the area, but makes little difference to Grahovo's people. As the town was overwhelmingly Serb before the war, its population has now fled to Banja Luka where, like the rest of Bosnia's refugees, it awaits its fate.

Some inkling of what that fate may be could emerge when the foreign ministers of Croatia, Bosnia and Yugoslavia meet in New York on Tuesday in an attempt to move the peace process forward.

Sarajevo Mayor: Division of City 'Unacceptable'

BR2509120895 Brussels BRTN-TV1 Television Network in Dutch 1730 GMT 23 Sep 95

[Video report by Chris Van den Abeele in Brussels]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] Brussels would like to become the sister city of Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital which has been under siege for three years now. This is what Brussels Mayor de Donnea said after a meeting with his Sarajevo counterpart. The ties between Brussels and Sarajevo will not be merely symbolic. Brussels will send very shortly an initial shipment of medical supplies and equipment to the Bosnian capital.

[Begin recording] [Van den Abeele] Professor-Engineer Tarik Kupusovic gave up his science career to become mayor of Sarajevo, a besieged city. [passage omitted] Kupusovic eschews political statements, except when his own city is involved. Yes, he wants peace, but not at the cost of Sarajevo's unity. [Van den Abeele speaks in English] Why is a division of the city not a good solution?

[Kuposovic, in English] How can a division be good a solution? Division of the city should make two invalid cities. It cannot survive. Thirty percent of marriages in Sarajevo families are mixed. How can you divide families or beds [words indistinct]? So we have defended these values for three and a half years in the city and there is maybe only one reason that the war can be prolongated: If in the peace plan should not be some way to protect multicultural, multiethnic privileges for Sarajevo. Division should be unacceptable; it is unacceptable. [end recording]

Reportage on Discoveries of Mass Graves Noted

Mass Grave Near Kljuc

AU2309160395 Paris AFP in English 1549 GMT 23 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Sept 23 (AFP)—Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic said here Saturday [23 September] that a mass grave containing 540 bodies had been found in western Bosnia in Serb-held territory recently recaptured by government troops.

"The Bosnian army discovered a grave with 540 bodies at Krasulje, 10 kilometers (six miles) from the town of Kljuc," the premier told AFP, adding that the victims were "Bosnians apparently killed in 1992 at the peak of 'ethnic cleansing' by Bosnian Serbs."

Siladjdzic on Saturday returned from the region that was seized by Croatian and Bosnian Government troops earlier this month in an offensive that chased Serb separatists from 4,000 square kilometers (1,550 square miles) of land.

More Mass Graves Uncovered

LD2409192895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 24 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Liberation actions by our army have resulted in the discovery of evidence of more crimes committed against the Bosniaks by the Serb-Montenegrin aggressor. The latest example are the mass graves discovered near Kljuc. We have a report by Muhamed Mulic:

[Mulic] In an attempt to wipe out Muslim tradition and culture in the liberated areas, the chetniks destroyed mosques, villages, and towns and killed hundreds of Bosniaks in the region of Bosnian Krajina. For instance, in the village of Velagici, near the liberated town of Kljuc, three mass graves have been uncovered containing over 500 bodies of people who were killed for no other reason but for being Bosniak Muslims. The chetniks tried to conceal their crimes against innocent people by burying their bodies deep in nearby woods.

However, following the liberation, surviving eyewitnesses discovered yet more gruesome crimes committed by Serb fascists in the area of Crvena Zemlja, near the village of Ramici on the road to the village of Balijevici. Here and in Hajducka Pecina more mass graves were found.

A special commission has already been in the area on a fact-finding mission. It was established that all those killed came from the village of Biljani in the Kljuc municipality. [passage indistinct]

Initial evidence has already been gathered of a genocide against the Bosniaks in this part of Bosnia-Herzegovina. A report has already been sent to the United Nations and the International War Tribunal in The Hague. The area was today visited by a large number of journalists from all over the world and this will help the truth about the crimes committed by the chetniks driven by their chetnik-fascist inspired ideology reaches the outside world.

This is, no doubt, only the beginning in exposing the criminal policy of the Serb Democratic Party that has never had anything to do with democracy, but has always been committed to annihilating the Bosniak people of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Karadzic Says Russia Key to Bosnia Crisis

AU2309192695 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 22 Sep 95

[Report by Slavica Cebic—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Serb Republic President Radovan Karadzic and Vice-Presidents Biljana Plavsic and Nikola Koljevic met with a delegation of the Russian Duma Foreign Policy Committee today in Banja Luka. Slavica Cebic has a report:

[Cebic] Greeting his guests from Moscow, President Karadzic thanked Russia for following the latest developments in the region and pointed out that we have lately been attacked by NATO and regular units of the state of Croatia and that now, when peace is at hand, the suffering of the Serbs is massive.

Addressing the presidents of the Serb Republic state leadership, Vladimir Lukin, president of the Russian Duma Foreign Policy Committee, stated that, while the Serb nation undergoes this terrible ordeal, Russia does not stand aside. Mr. Lukin characterized their visit to the Serb Republic and Banja Luka as an attempt to assess the real situation on the ground so that Russia can be as actively involved as possible in alleviating the suffering of refugees who seek shelter in the area.

Commenting on the meeting that was held behind closed doors, President Radovan Karadzic emphasized that they met with the members of the Russian Duma before, but that today's visit of the high Russian delegation to the Serb Republic is of great significance.

[Karadzic] Nowhere in the world can a solution to a crisis be found without Russia, especially in the Balkans. We expect that the Russian diplomacy and the Russian state will take part in creating the final peace solution and guarantee its longevity. This crisis cannot be resolved without guarantees of Serbia and Russia. Unfortunately, after the recognition of the Serb Republic, this civil war grew into an aggression. This is not a civil war any longer, for we managed to defend ourselves from the Bosnian Croats and the Bosnian Muslims in the civil war. This is an aggression. Croatia, as the fourth factor, has now become involved with great forces and attacked us, even forced us to withdraw from some of our territories. However, we managed to halt the offensive and we now want to expedite peace talks and the peace process. Therefore, the visit of Mr. Lukin and the Duma delegation, composed of representatives of several factions, is of particular significance.

We must admit that we were alone for a long time. We were completely alone for three and a half years. However, the Duma was always very understanding and now it grew into an important support that is rendered operational by the Russian government. We hope that, enjoying such support, we will soon find a just solution. It will not be long-lasting unless it is just. Furthermore, a lasting solution must be guaranteed by Russia. [passage omitted]

Buha Details Agreements Reached With Russians

LD2209165595 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1416 GMT 22 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 22 Sep (SRNA)—Aleksa Buha, foreign minister of the Bosnian Serb Republic [RS], told SRNA today that he was "very satisfied" with his four-day official visit to the Russian Federation, where he reached "a high level of agreement" with his interlocutors about all vital issues on ways to resolve the war in former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"I am very satisfied with the talks with President Yeltsin's National Security Adviser Yuriy Baturin, First Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov, and General Aleksandr Lebed," Buha said upon his arrival in Belgrade.

He said: "The Serb delegation drew attention to its Moscow interlocutors that it is absurd that the international community has done nothing to halt the offensive by the Croatian and Muslim forces regardless of the fact that the peace process has taken off and that the talks are underway."

"We asked Russia to oppose energetically the war option, which could render all negotiations meaningless," the RS foreign minister said. Buha added that he asked his interlocutors to support and to launch a concrete diplomatic initiative to reach an agreement on a lasting cessation of hostilities in former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"The concrete result of Russia's new approach to the Yugoslav crisis is its proposal that the UN Security Council pass a resolution asking for a halt in the Croatian-Muslim offensive," he stressed.

Buha said he discussed "the need to treat the RS as an equal with the Croat-Muslim federation and through a document which would mirror the Washington agreement and would be witnessed by President Yeltsin."

"Our side suggested that this document be called the Moscow declaration," Buha said. He stressed that he told the Russian side that if the peace process is derailed by further Croatian and Muslim military offensives, the Serbs would have to continue defending themselves.

"We clearly told the Russian side that if this happened, we would need every kind of assistance, including weapons," Buha said.

The Serb Republic foreign minister added that he reminded his collocutors that "the Serbs expect that kind of assistance, and that they can expect it only from the Russian Federation."

"Baturin, Ivanov, and Lebed showed complete understanding for this proposal and requested from us that we promise to do everything so that the Serb side is not responsible for a possible failure of the negotiating process," Buha said.

The Serb Republic minister said that a high level of accord was achieved with the Russian side on opposition to sending NATO forces to Bosnia as a guarantee for the implementation of a possible peace agreement.

"We informed them about our stance that the two states in the future Union of Bosnia-Herzegovina will have to agree on that too," Buha said.

"As far as we are concerned, such forces are out of the question—international observers and the great powers' guarantees that the side which violates the peace agreement will be severely punished are enough," the Serb foreign minister added.

He stressed that the Serb side told the Russian officials of the firm Serb stance that the peace package will have to include the lifting of the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Serb Republic, and the Serb people:

"If the sanctions were introduced because of the war in former Bosnia-Herzegovina, its end removes all formal and other reasons for the sanctions."

In conclusion, he said that he reached agreement with the Russian officials on the request "to step up delivery of Russian humanitarian aid to the Serbs and to bring it in via the airport at Banja Luka."

Serb Officials View Military-Political Situation

AU2309201295 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 22 Sep 95

[Report by Mirjana Kusmuk]

[FBIS Translated Text] Today's session of the government of the Serb Republic [RS] held in Banja Luka focused on the military-political situation in the republic as well as on the distribution and accommodation of refugees from occupied areas. General Bogdan Subotic and Deputy Interior Minister Tomo Kovac informed government members about the current military situation. Religion Minister Dragan Davidovic, who visited on behalf of the Serb Republic government, the towns that have come under attack by the enemy for the past couple of days, informed them about the situation in Sanski Most and Novi Grad [Bosanski Novi]. It was concluded that the situation on the front is being stabilized and that refugees are returning to bordering areas. The military and public prosecutor and court martial president spoke about activities of these institutions.

Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic and the Serb Republic Army supreme commander, attended a part of today's session. Among other things, he warned that the government must find a way to become more operational and added that ministers must now be present on the territory of Krajina in order to solve problems as soon as possible. There are rumors about maps on territorial demarcations. Those are lies, there are no maps, emphasized President Karadzic addressing members of the government. Today, the government decided that the prime minister, deputies, defense ministers, the Interior Ministry, and the Serb Republic president must, in cooperation with the General Staff, take measures to be able to improve the organization of authorities and defense.

The participants of the session concluded that it is necessary to take restrictive measures in the field of the military prosecutor's office. Ministers were ordered to submit reports at the next government session on what was pulled out from occupied territories. The government decided to form an operational government body that will be in constant session.

Gojko Klickovic, president of the Serb Republic Headquarters for Reception and Accommodation of Refugees, talked about distribution and accommodation of refugees.

Serb Official Rejects Integration Into Federation

AU2209202595 Banja Luka GLAS SRPSKI in Serbo-Croatian 20 Sep 94 p 3

["Exclusive" interview with Biljana Plavsic, vice president of the "Serb Republic," by Momo Joksimovic; place and date not given: "Absolutely Srpska"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The beginning of a real campaign by primarily the Croatian, but also the Muslim, media about the increasingly more tangible "attempts" to allegedly negotiate with the democratic forces in Banja Luka on its "peaceful reintegration" into the federation with the Muslims and the Croats has intensified recently. Commenting on the enemy "initiatives," primarily by Muslim Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic and, unfortunately, also by British Foreign Secretary Malcolm Rifkind, Biljana Plavsic, vice president of the Serb Republic, said the following especially for GLAS SRPSKI:

[Plavsic] A statement by the British foreign secretary, Mr. Rifkind, that follows on directly from his statement that the territories conquered in Krajina in the latest Muslim-Croatian offensive would not be acknowledged as territorial solutions, contradicts completely his stance of a few days ago. I still cannot accept that politics in all countries is completely devoid of any morality. If I counted on his morals, it is because I considered England to be a country that would more or less stick to some principles, also in politics. Out of all the new elements today, the only certain thing is that all this will not last long. There are deadlines. Some mention the crucial four, five days, some a week, and others 15 days. In comparison with the four years of war, it is really a brief period and this seems the only certain thing to me. Judging by everything, many turnabouts in the political and military spheres are possible during this period.

I would ask a perfectly valid question. What kind of democratic forces in Banja Luka are the Muslims and Mr. Rifkind reckoning with?! The only party in the Serb Republic that truly carries the attribute democratic in its name is the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS]. Therefore, I can conclude that their initiatives refer to precisely this party.

[Joksimovic] Do you think that there are, nevertheless, forces in this region that could really negotiate on a possible accession to the Muslim-Croat federation?

[Plavsic] How could anyone negotiate on all this when the party, I am referring to the SDS, is in power; elected by the people? Anything that someone might try to improvise would be highly undemocratic and arbitrary.

[Joksimovic] Recalling "the peaceful reintegration" of western Slavonia or the Republic of Serbian Krajina, can there be any discussion about the solution that the latest initiatives of the Muslim-Croatian leadership and, unfortunately, also the English diplomat suggest, namely, a peaceful reintegration of Banja Luka into their federation with the help of democratic forces at home?

[Plavsic] There can be no discussion of that. The following principles were adopted at the 8 September Geneva Conference: Republika Srpska [Serb Republic] exists and with the use of this term for our territory, the republic was officially proclaimed for the first time. Everything that we gained at the diplomatic level is actually addressed to the Serb Republic, Serb republic president.... It is lunacy that somebody would try to amputate the Serb Republic where it is "absolutely" Serbian with a military arrangement pertaining to the territorial solution. The same goes for the ownership of land and the ethnic structure.

[Joksimovic] Can we now compare this with the intentions of similarly "democratic forces" in favor of accession, for example in Tuzla, that want a peaceful reintegration with the Serb Republic?

[Plavsic] As far as I know, there is supposedly a reserve option in Tuzla that is democratic to an extent. Unfortunately, everything that happened to the Serbian population, and also the Croats, in Tuzla clearly indicates an absolute lack of democratic forces.

[Joksimovic] You visited Sanski Most yesterday. What is, according to you, the current military situation in that area?

[Plavsic] On the basis of brief information, I would say that, to use a military term, the defense line has been stabilized and reinforced and that our brave soldiers are holding on very well. However, I got considerably more information in direct contacts with the army. On the way from Prijedor to Sanski Most, I encountered an interesting situation regarding the Drina Corps. There were soldiers marching away from Sanski Most while fresh forces were moving toward Sanski Most. There was an enormous difference talking to both of them. Naturally, all my optimism stems from the talks with those who were going toward Sanski Most, who told me that they were from Krajina, that they had fought for four years, and that they had been everywhere on the territory of the Serb Republic and now were arriving where, as they said, things had got sticky. Their message was clear: Politicians should do their job and they would do theirs, the way it was always done in the history of our warfare.

[Joksimovic] That famous Serbian spitefulness is obviously running high again, which originates from the fact that we can only survive here and nowhere else, and all this only on the condition that we form our own state with all its attributes?

[Plavsic] It was confirmed in the contacts with the soldiers that they realize that they must defend the state and, through the defense of the territory, build it and strengthen it further. They also realize that the army must not withdraw, either after or along with the civilians, and that a soldier is not here "to watch his back," but to defend the territory and the country. Our army interprets the so-called blitz victory by our enemies as an epilogue to the shock caused by the conquest of 100-percent Serbian territories, assessing that civilians sometimes have to be withdrawn in some places, which, of course, varies from area to area.

[Jokanovic] In the situation when the NATO bombers blinded and deafened us with the destruction of our relays and television transmitters, the role of media appears to be of key importance in the struggle for the survival on the ancient Serbian territories?

[Plavsic] They caused great damage to us. However, we are now managing pretty well to find adequate replacements. We must work on this further, even after we have restored old links and communications via relays and transmitters. These replacements must remain stored even then. As for the media, I would, apart from the only state daily GLAS SRPSKI, also draw attention to the example of the Banja Luka BIG radio in the present situation. Those people demonstrated absolute patriotism by working round the clock and covering, extremely professionally and patriotically, all the "information holes" that emerged with the aggression of the NATO forces against the Serb Republic.

Order Bans Refugees From Staying in Banja Luka

AU2209205295 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 22 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] All refugees from the areas of Sipovo, [Bosanski] Petrovac, Srbobran [Donji Vakuf], Bihac, Kljuc, Kupres, Jajce, and other western Krajina municipalities must closely follow the order issued by the Serb Republic president and find accommodation in designated municipalities. Refugees who fail to comply with the said order and stay in Banja Luka will lose refugee status and the associated rights of accommodation, food, and health care, said Predrag Radic, president of the Banja Luka wartime municipality.

Tudjman Views 25 Sep Meeting With Chirac

AU2409144095 Paris AFP in English
1118 GMT 24 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Sept 24 (AFP)—Croatian President Franjo Tudjman meets his French counterpart Jacques Chirac in Paris Monday [25 September] to put forward Zagreb's points of view ahead of a New York meeting between the warring sides in Bosnia and the five-nation "Contact Group."

He is expected to stress Croatia's two main demands: mutual recognition with Serbia and settling the problem of Croatia's eastern Slavonia region which is under Serb control.

"We don't want to cover the cost of peace in Bosnia," a Croatian diplomat said. "We're not prepared to agree to the lifting of sanctions against Serbia until it recognises Croatia."

"Neither do we accept that the issue of eastern Slavonia remains in the air. Until this question is resolved, the entire region will remain unstable."

Zagreb was annoyed during a meeting in Geneva on September 8 which laid the foundation for peace in Bosnia, that discussion on eastern Slavonia was pushed back to a later date. The area, which borders Serbia, is the only part of Croatia still in Serb hands and Zagreb has warned it may retake it by force.

Tudjman's visit to France follows that of federal Yugoslav Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic several days ago, and Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic a month ago.

The arrival of Tudjman at the Elysee Palace should mark a new stage in relations between Croatia and France after Zagreb accused Chirac's predecessor Francois Mitterrand of favouring Serbia in the former Yugoslavia conflict.

On Tuesday, the foreign ministers of Bosnia, Croatia and the rump Yugoslavia will meet in New York along with representatives of the "Contact Group" of Britain, France, Germany, Russia and the United States in a bid to push forward the peace process.

'Relations' 'Improving'

LD2509100195 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 25 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President of the Republic of Croatia Franjo Tudjman has left Zagreb on a state visit to the Republic of France. Drazen Korda reports for Croatian radio.

[Korda] Before taking off from Zagreb airport President Tudjman had the following to say about the aims of his visit and relations with the Republic of France:

[Begin Tudjman recording] Relations between Croatia and France are improving in all areas. Of course, the aim of my visit is to meet with President Chirac and hold talks with other French officials. We will discuss bilateral relations and problems concerning solving the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the liberation of the still occupied Croatian areas. [end recording]

[Korda] Nedjeljko Mihanovic, speaker of the assembly, Prime Minister Nikica Valentic and other senior military and state officials saw President Tudjman off at the airport.

Tudjman Pledges To Be in Vukovar 'Soon'

LD2409104595 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 0910 GMT 24 Sep 95

[Speech by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman at the opening ceremony for a folk festival in Vinkovci—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] Dear citizens of heroic Vinkovci, dear refugees from Srijem, Vukovar, and Baranja in eastern Slavonia, dear Croatian brothers and sisters from the homeland and the diaspora. I have not come to make a speech, I have come to enjoy your festival, the Vinkovci Autumn Festival, which testifies to the survival of the Croatian people, its traditions and its spirit, of the kind that very few nations in Europe and throughout the world can boast.

But seeing that your prefect has invited me to speak, let me congratulate you on this festival. Let me also tell you that the time will come soon for you finally to remove these boards from your window panes.

Last year I promised you that I would come here by train from Zagreb. I fulfilled my promise. I also promised Split that it will again have the train for Split via Knin. You were on that train, as well as the whole of Croatia.

Together with the whole of Croatia, I am promising you now that soon we will be in Ilok, Vukovar, and Baranja. This is a pledge from the whole of Croatia, at home and abroad. This is the pledge of every Croatian man. This is the guarantee of the future of the Croatian state on the river Danube as well. Let us live and prepare for that moment.

Tudjman Promotes, Demotes Army Officers

LD2309201095 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 23 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just received the following statement from the military office of the Republic of Croatia:

On the basis of Article 100, Item 1 of the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia and Article 131 of the Law on Service in the Armed Forces of the Republic of Croatia, the president of the republic and supreme commander of the armed forces today decided to promote the following active officers of the armed forces of the Republic of Croatia: Major-General Djuro Decak was promoted to the rank of Colonel-General; Staff Brigadiers Milenko Filipovic, Ivan Kapular, Ivan Korade, Damir Krsticevic, Mirko Norac-Kevo, Rahim Ademi and Ljubo Cesic were promoted to the rank of Major-General. Brigadiers Andrija Matijas and Renato Romic were promoted to the rank of Staff Brigadier. Major Ivan Pavic was promoted to the rank of Colonel.

The president of the republic today also decided to remove from his post Major-General Vinko Vrbanec and launch military disciplinary procedures against him because of the consequences of a military action he carried out on his own initiative.

Foreign Minister Meets With U.S. Congressmen

LD2209194595 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 22 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Dr. Mate Granic, Croatian deputy prime minister and foreign affairs minister, has received Dana Rohrabacher and George Radanovich, Republican members of the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress. Dr. Granic has briefed the guests about the current military and political situation in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. He has stressed that the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina must be consolidated, adding that parallel with the issue of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina it is necessary to resolve the issue together of peaceful reintegration of eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem into the constitutional system of the Republic of Croatia.

The congressmen strongly supported this demand by Croatia and promised to continue to provide support for the Republic of Croatia and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the U.S. Congress.

Refugee Status Abolished for Expelled Bosnians

LD2309184195 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 23 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Adalbert Rebic, minister and head of the government's office for refugees and displaced persons, has held talks in Bihac with representatives of local authorities and humanitarian organizations. They discussed the return of refugees to western Bosnia and the possibilities of providing shelter for the people expelled from the Serb-controlled parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The office for refugees and displaced persons has announced that the refugee status for the people from the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina—from the liberated areas of Bihac, Bosanska Krupa, Bosanski Petrovac, Kljuc, Drvar, Bosansko Grahovo, Sipovo, Jajce, Travnik, Novi Travnik, Bugojno, Kakanj, Bosanska Dubica, Vares, Olovo, Zavidovici, Maglaj, Gornji Vakuf and Donji Vakuf—has been abolished. It was announced that the abolishing of the refugee status and the return to the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina are being carried out in cooperation with the Ministry for Refugees and Social Affairs of the government of the Republic and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as the office for refugees and displaced persons of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosna.

Commissioner for Borders Views New Situation

AU2409165095 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Sep 95 pp 6-7

[Interview with Hrvoje Kacic, president of the Republic of Croatia State Commission for Borders, by Davor Krile; place and date not given: "The Issue of Bihac Airport Will Be Solved Through an Agreement With Bosnia-Herzegovina"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Krile] Operation "Storm" and the arrival of the Croatian Army on the internationally recognized borders of Croatia have drawn attention to some open questions concerning our state borders with Bosnia-Herzegovina. In that sense, the most interesting problem seems to be the one of Zeljava Airport in Bihac, a complex which is situated on the territory of both states. How are this and other open questions being viewed on official state levels?

[Kacic] In the first place we have to state that everything has changed since Operation "Storm." Our soldiers who took part in it freed us from the malignant tumor in the Croatian breast. Now we are in a much stronger, but also much calmer position than we were before "Storm." It was by no means easy to talk about certain issues and open problems on the state border in a moment when our border guards did not control those border roads. The real work is still to come, and it is no coincidence that we are talking about the territory of the Bihac airport precisely now. Those questions arose at the very beginning of 1992, when the Pleso and Resnik airports were out of use, and Zemunik and Cilipi were under occupation. To discuss where exactly the border line in the Bihac area goes would have been, under such circumstances, an exceptionally unpleasant work, to put it mildly. Now everything is much simpler and easier, which does not mean that I underestimate the problems we will meet; in relation to Bosnia-Herzegovina, we have to keep in mind the complexity of the entire border line. Luckily, it mostly goes along the Sava River and the Una River, so that a more complex work is awaiting us only in the southwestern part. We have not had any contacts with Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities concerning this, because they still have to form a body which will deal with this issue. In that sense I can perfectly understand them, because first of all they have to face all the enormous problems on their territory, so that by now they could not commit themselves to this.

As for the very territory on which the Bihac airport stands, it has to be treated separately from a final settlement of border lines, since the latter is a long-lasting task. At this moment, first of all we are discussing the ways of using that airport and the temporary lines of its supervision. It is an exceptionally big object which has been used exclusively for military purposes. Within that complex there are four runways, but all the facilities on land are actually minor in relation to objects and halls situated underground, i.e. dug into the Pljesivice hill. That space is for the most part on the territory of the Republic of Croatia, and we will by no means work on any dislocations; instead, we have to agree with our neighbors on the ways of an optimal use of those objects, and of their supervision. The starting points for the talks will be the Washington Agreement and the Split Declaration.

Border With Bosnia-Herzegovina

[Krile] Can you predict the solution of the problem of that airport, on the basis of what you have found out up to now?

[Kacic] We will probably find a model to use that territory together, at which we have to keep in mind that that airport is of an extreme importance today, also for the supply of humanitarian aid to Bihac itself. I do not wish to go into military evaluations of this issue. We must not neglect that today we have Udbine Airport at our disposal, just like Zemunik Airport near Zadar, and for the armies of our two states there is definitely enough space to prove that the basis of the present efficacious military cooperation can still be expanded. On our side, we have already agreed on appointing an ad hoc commission which would discuss all open questions, and the ways to use that airport, with a similar ad hoc commission of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Krile] Apart from the already mentioned issues, what are the other bigger open questions in the border zone with Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Kacic] There is also the issue of the Zavalje territory, and we expect Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities to form their opinion on that. It is still unknown whether they will insist on the border lines from 1992, when Bosnia-Herzegovina was internationally recognized, or if they intend to insist on AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] borders. As far as our constitutional declaration is concerned, the situation is clear; we have to start from the situation as it was in 1991. In that sense it will be interesting to hear if Bosnia-Herzegovina will invoke the issue of the so-called AVNOJ borders, concerning the exit to the sea near Sutorina. But I do not want to talk about that in advance. Together with these, there will be a number of other issues, but luckily there will be enough time for a responsible and constructive cooperation. On the Croatian side—the public is maybe not very much acquainted with this—a special group of experts of various disciplines has been formed, with the task to determine and mark the border with Bosnia-Herzegovina; Ms. Vajic, professor of international law on the Law School in Zagreb, is at its head.

The Issue of Prevlaka

[Krile] Greater Serbian pretensions towards the territory of the extreme south of Croatia, namely Prevlaka, have lately become more intense again, and a meeting of the expert group for determining borders between Croatia and Montenegro has recently been held. Can you tell us what the latest achievements in that sphere are?

[Kacic] The land border between Croatia and Montenegro is 24 km long, and there is no important news there. The border is so clear that that leaves simply no room for any other conclusions, except for Debeli Brijeg itself, where there are 70 meters of wilderness. There is already a border crossing between Croatia and Montenegro on that territory. There is a factual agreement between the representatives of the Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Croatia and Montenegro, which divides those 70 meters into two, so that the object in which our border service works is 135 meters away from the border line, and the Montenegrin border guards are at the same distance. I believe that this solution will prove to be the most suitable in the future as well.

As for the problem of Prevlaka itself, I would only partly agree with you when you say it has lately become a burning issue again; as a matter of fact, in the last four years there has not been one week in which Prevlaka was not presented as a problem there, which only increased the animosity towards Croatia.

Our land border reaches Cape Konfin inside the entrance to Boka Kotorska Bay, and that is indisputable. The only thing which has never been determined was the sea border line between the republics. That work is awaiting us both in this part and in the north. We will not talk about these things with Montenegro and with Belgrade for the time being, until they resolve the crucial issue of the diplomatic recognition of Croatia, because factually and politically they have already recognized Croatia. That is an issue Milosevic can hardly swallow after the "Flash" and "Storm" operations, but that is why he has to face the consequences of the Security Council resolutions, which, true, came too late, but they did come. It is lucky that in Montenegro there is a growing attitude, present in their journalism as well, that in the last four years Belgrade has turned Montenegro into a big military training ground, and that first of all applies to Boka Kotorska. It can be noticed that in the political circles of the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia there are significant differences. In no aspect are they unified as in 1991, particularly not when it comes to new adventures, plunderings, and looting. We have to know that Prevlaka implies 252 sq. km of territorial waters, and around 4,500 sq. km of agricultural area.

Piran Bay

[Krile] How do you see the future of the extreme south of Croatia and of Cape Ostro?

[Kacic] Already in 1991 I sent a clear message to Montenegro that this cape should connect us, rather than divide us. I see it as a tourist attraction, and without such solutions there is no chance for Montenegro to get out of the miserable situation Belgrade has brought it into. Apart from the short period in the second phase of the Independent State of Croatia [NDH], Boka Kotorska has never been a part of the Croatian state, not even formally. We do not wish to incorporate that element in our behavior, and we fully respect the situation created in 1944 and 1945. Despite the full understanding for the interests of the Catholic Croats of Boka Kotorska, we have to be realistic and, in the name of peace, I see no reason for any sort of territorial aspirations towards Boka Kotorska. We are not militant, and in our history there have been no examples that Croats ever went into offensive operations towards the east, whereas there were innumerous such attempts on their part towards us, which has also been proven in recent experiences.

[Krile] In relation to the determination of sea border lines, which solutions have been found for the territory of Piran Bay?

[Kacic] We had very intense talks with Slovene representatives within a joint diplomatic commission. There is still much work to be done before we reach final conclusions; at that, we absolutely accept all the solutions from the International Convention on the Right to the Sea [as published] from 1982. The atmosphere for such efforts is very positive; what I would particularly like to draw attention to is the fact that in the Croatian daily press more publicity has been given to radical extremist elements from Slovenia than to the serious part of the Slovene political establishment, which has created a false opinion that Slovene-Croat political relations are burdened with insoluble problems. I do not belong to those who share that pessimism, because we certainly have more things in common than those which divide us. That is at the same time a guarantee that we will find solutions also for those issues in which we disagree for the time being; this relates, in the first place, to the sea border line. Luckily, land border lines are not burdened with such problems, with the exception of Sveta Gera, which is an obvious example of usurpation, which still goes on. But that will be solved in the way shown in the documents—the territory on that range between Croatia and Slovenia has throughout history been precisely defined, and that border line is the one we had on 25 June 1991 [the day when Croatia declared independence].

Mesic Accusations Against Tudjman Reported

LD2209201395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1842 GMT 22 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Ljubljana, Sept. 22 (TANJUG)—Croatia's governing party Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) and its leader, President Franjo Tudjman, had 'committed unseen-of thefts, speculations and abuse of power.'

These accusations were made by Independent Croatian Democratic Party (NSH) President Stipe Mesic in TV Ljubljana's special programme on Thursday evening. He said that Tudjman and HDZ were leading Croatia into disaster.

'They destroyed the economy, bought flats very cheaply and led the state to the brink of disaster,' Mesic said, claiming that 'in Croatia production is daily declining, plants are being discontinued, and only unemployment, misery, black-marketeering, corruption and crime are rising.'

Mesic, until recently Tudjman's closest aid, was the last president of the SFRY Presidency. He is remembered for his statement 'I have performed my task, Yugoslavia is no longer.' He was one of the leaders of Croatia's war for secession from the former Yugoslavia.

The Croatian authorities last week evicted Mesic from his flat in the centre of Zagreb which had been given to him at the time when he had been performing all those 'duties.'

Commentary on Future Borders After Recent Events

AU2209173195 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 19 Sep 95 p 5

[Commentary by Ivan Sabic: "Banja Luka and the 51:49 Ratio"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Few find it necessary to analyze and explain the fact that the Croat and Muslim forces in the western part of Bosnia-Herzegovina have been progressing much faster than even the greatest optimists hoped. The reason for this is the pressure of finding the answer to a much more important question: Where will the separation line between the Croat-Muslim and Serb forces finally stabilize?

This does not mean that dealing with the above issue will be indefinitely postponed, and some estimates of individual credits of the Croats and Muslims in the joint forces simply demand an objective analysis now. Namely, it happens all too often that the contribution of the Croat forces is completely neglected, or else it is said that they just walked into the vacant area prepared for them by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. However, a glance at the map is enough even for a layman to realize that the credit for the lifting of the blockade of Bihac, which made possible the supply of the 5th Corps and its further progress, as well as for the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army forces to enter Donji Vakuf, goes to the Croatian Army and the Croatian Defense Council.

The Recent Fighting and the Future of Bosnia-Herzegovina

However, considering that at present the fighting that is taking place will undoubtedly determine the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina as well as the future of both the Croat and the Muslim people in Bosnia-Herzegovina for a long period, the future should certainly, at least for the time being, be given priority over the past. The discussion should therefore involve the future military and diplomatic actions, particularly military actions in the western part of Bosnia-Herzegovina, since experience has shown that the international community, including the authors of all the proposals for ending the war on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, does not neglect the situation on the ground for a moment—on the contrary, to a certain extent it takes precisely that situation as the starting point.

The Contact Group plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina has "offered" the Serbs 49 percent of the territory, even though at the time of the 1991 census they made up 31.3 percent of the overall population. However, that was 20 percent less than what the Serbs had under their control. It is therefore evident that the authors of the plan had in mind the Serb war conquests. That the world acknowledges the situation on the ground was even more clearly stated at the time of the successful ending of the Croatian military and police action "Storm," when U.S. officials—from state secretaries to President Bill Clinton himself—stated that the new situation provides new prospects for the achievement of a permanent peace.

There is therefore no reason to doubt that the new situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina will be acknowledged in the future negotiations, both by the peace mediators and the opposing side, which has become more cooperative and prepared for a compromise than before the "Breeze" [Maestral].

The territory under Serb control, which is reached via the corridor through Bosnian Posavina, is becoming smaller by the day. According to rough estimates, its area is much smaller than a third of the former area, so Karadzic's major fight for a wide corridor through Bosnian Posavina, which was to wipe out the Posavina canton, loses its meaning. It will become completely meaningless if the Croat and Muslim forces enter Banja Luka, which has been announced in a way. In that case the forecasts saying that the border between the two "entities" in Bosnia-Herzegovina—the Croat-Muslim and the Serb one—would stretch east of Mostar, Sarajevo, and Tuzla, that is, that the Serb "entity" would boil down to eastern Herzegovina and Podrinje, will become true.

The Drina—A River or a New Hard Border

According to some information, this is not only the opinion in the areas in which there is heavy fighting, but also in other, in some ways much more important places. Among those who support the solution that would create a firm and stable border between the influence zones are some U.S. lobbies, and it could also easily happen that, as the alternative to the border on the Drina River, this solution becomes part of the preelection program of some of the presidential candidates—naturally, if it has an appropriate basis on the ground.

In that case the formula 51:49, which Americans, as the leaders of the latest peace initiative, can now simply not give up, would simply turn out to be useless. This situation—in which Americans, despite the interest to move the border between the zones of influence as far east as possible, at present cannot give up the fundamental guideline of the Contact Group plan—is, naturally, making the anticipation of the further development of events more difficult. At any rate, if the Croats and Muslims manage to forestall a possible U.S.-Russian agreement and a quick Serb agreement to the peace plan and recognition of the neighboring countries, the story about the corridor will most probably end. Otherwise, all the options will remain open.

Serb Leader Calls For International Protectorate

LD2409183095 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1705 GMT 24 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kragujevac, 24 Sep (BETA)—Slavko Dokmanovic, the president of the council of the Srem and Baranja region, has said that a peaceful and permanent solution for the status of this sector of the Republic of Serb Krajina "envisioned the establishment of a five-year transitional international protectorate."

Speaking today on the Kragujevac radio program "The Hallmark of the Times," he added that this part of the Republic of Serb Krajina favored a peaceful settlement of the crisis, including talks on equal terms with the Croatian Government, saying that the "solution must on no account be to the detriment of the Serbs."

Dokmanovic said that the Serb side supported the Z-4 plan only as a basis for the talks, but it would not accept it without certain "vital" conditions.

He stressed that "we will not accept the option whereby the Croatian authorities would take over the Srem and Baranja region leisurely and the Serbs would move out of it, nor will we accept the solution whereby the Serbs would remain and embrace Tudjman's regime."

"Consequently, we are advocating the continuation of the peace talks on equal terms with Croatia on questions of joint interest and an international protectorate over the next five years," Dokmanovic added.

He expressed hope that "well before" 30 November, when the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] mandate in the area expires, "a decision would be made for these forces to remain or even to be significantly reinforced."

Dokmanovic denied "the lies of Croatian propaganda" on alleged mass expulsions of Croats from this area and added that in the course of the peace process Croatia has always wanted to "agitate the public, and it is practically ordering the Croats to move out in order to obtain an excuse for its new aggression."

He assessed the military and security situation in the Srem and Baranja region as "favorable in the past 10 days," as no serious excesses were registered and "the Serb defense lines were stable."

'Panic,' 'Chaos' in Eastern Herzegovina Noted

AU2409184395 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Sep 95 p 2

[Report by L. Brailo: "The Army and Civilians Are Fleeing; Vucurevic Nowhere To Be Found"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Dubrovnik—"We have not feared the previous offensives, so we shall not allow cheap lies and misinformation to distract us. The command of the 'Herzegovina Corps' has informed its troops and the Serb people in the area that nothing has been or will be sold or handed over. In addition to this, Herzegovina is in a very favorable position regarding the latest maps and political actions. That is why we should reject lies and misinformation that is coming from the enemy side. We should stay in our villages and the troops on their front lines because this is the safest way to protect ourselves, our property, and the eternally our Serb Herzegovina."

This is just a part of the proclamation issued by the command of the so-called Herzegovina Corps to "the people and troops of Serb Herzegovina." The proclamation, broadcast by Montenegrin state radio, was prompted by the latest actions of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army whose units since Sunday 17 September have been gradually advancing north of Mostar, on the Boracko Jezero-Nevesinje line.

Although the "courageous Serb troops" have allegedly repelled all the attacks, the call to the population of "Serb Herzegovina to stay in their villages" and to soldiers "to stay on the fronts" clearly speaks of the "success" of Vucurevic's defense.

The increasingly strong actions of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army from Boracko Jezero to Nevesinje has led to the "shifting" of the local population toward Bileca and other still more or less safe parts of eastern Herzegovina. Faced with these problems, the creators of the proclamation claim that "such lies are fabricated by the enemy, and circulated by traitors in our ranks, disheartened individuals, and people who wish to justify their cowardice with fabrications."

While the military and political leadership of the eastern Herzegovina Serbs, much like the one in Banja Luka, is issuing strong proclamations in an attempt to remedy the obvious panic and chaos, similar news is coming from other parts of eastern Herzegovina, on the border with Serbia and Montenegro. Following NATO strikes against Foca and the destruction of bridges and military depots in the town and its environs, over 600 refugees "temporarily" crossed over into Montenegro. The statement of the Serb Democratic Party's Municipal Council in Trebinje confirms the dramatic situation in eastern Herzegovina. The statement draws attention to "the need to compile new regulations of the municipal war presidency, particularly those pertaining to unity and mutual respect between civilian authorities and military commands, greater security for the citizens, the need to undertake urgent activities to secure combat readiness in the Herzegovina Corps' theater of operations, consistent implementation of laws for the duration of the state of war, and better supply of basic foodstuffs to towns." In addition to this, the normally verbose Vucurevic has not been heard on Radio Trebinje for over three weeks....

Gligorov Wants Closer U.S. Military Cooperation

AU2109191195 Paris AFP in English
1857 GMT 21 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Skopje, Sept 21 (AFP)—Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov on Thursday called for closer military cooperation between this former Yugoslav republic and the United States in a meeting with U.S. secretary of the Army, Togo West.

"The U.S. side confirmed that it was prepared to promote cooperation between our two armies," officials said here.

Gligorov said that establishing diplomatic relations between Skopje and Washington at the highest possible level could only boost this cooperation.

West arrived here Wednesday for a third visit to the U.S. contingent in the United Nations Forces for Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], which are deployed along the border with Serbia in a bid to avert a spillover of Serb nationalist violence to Macedonia, which has a substantial Serb minority.

Welcoming an agreement with Greece to settle a longstanding dispute over Macedonia's name and flag, West said: "I think that means a lot of good things are going to happen for us all here in the region."

Commentary Notes Regional Reactions to Accord

AU2209200495 Skopje PULS in Macedonian
22 Sep 95 pp 15-17

[Commentary by Mirce Tomovski: "From the Second Plan"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Although the implementation of the Macedonia-Greek accord has begun, the Balkans is still showing its temper. The U.S. engagement in the problem areas between Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] and Greece is openly and duly praised. The New York accord with the signatures of Crvenkovski and Papoulias is welcomed. The settlement of relations in the colorful Balkans political map is placed at the center of events.

So, Sofia, with the reaction of Zhelev, first man of the state, placed the solution of the relations at the center of the future and the stability of the European southeast. Albania was caught by surprise by the Macedonian-Greek accord while Berisha was with Clinton. Serreqi had just left Athens in protest after the request to open schools for the Greeks in Albania, and the U.S.-Albanian troops were exercising in joint military maneuvers. Normally, for Tirana there was nothing else to do but to use selected language and greet the solution of the crisis in its neighborhood as a "new positive process in the region." Greece, as a cosignatory of the papers in New York, officially acted in a manner that coincides with the good manners of Vance and Nemitz. Serbia left its reaction to be understood through its official nonreaction. The only sign of its reaction is the news in the mass media that registered the event.

This was all the first plan, which is refined and dedicated to the broader public. It is a real piece of cake for those who are not familiar with the Balkan cake shops and their sweets. The second Balkan plan is the one that counts; actually it is the essential one. We did not have to wait long to see it. It appeared in the most expressive way in the media, in the reactions of diplomats and unidentified sources, in indirect statements, persistent silence, commentaries on different interpretations of the accord, its validity and invalidity, its negation. The general political subtext of the reactions is amazement. Can Macedonia be equal to all? They are used to a Macedonia with some "defects." So, neither the malice nor the cynicism is hidden. They simply want to keep the "Macedonian question" open.

In the general events in Macedonia, after the breakup of former Yugoslavia, Bulgaria was looking for its chance. That is why it made a controversial political act—it recognized the state but it denied the nation and the national identity. It expected an internal Bulgarization of the Macedonians that would end with a natural annexation to Bulgaria. Because of its resoluteness in refusing to recognize the Macedonian language, Bulgaria even limited general, particularly economic cooperation, as well as cultural communications. The Macedonian-Greek normalization of relations definitely promoted Macedonia into an independent political, constitutional, and national subject. That is why there is sorrow for the "Bulgarian Macedonia," that is to say, for the beginning of the end of the Great Bulgarian cause in relation to Macedonia. Nevertheless, bearing in mind the depth of this commitment, it will not be easy to believe that Bulgaria will give up its cause. Now, for instance, it is trying to interpret the accord "in its own way," particularly regarding Article 49 of the Macedonian Constitution, and thus deny the existence of the Macedonian minority in Bulgaria and its political organization "OMO Ilinden."

Athens is the cosigner of the accord. What the signers cannot utter, the media and the Greek right wing does. With the aim of marking the accord as not very important and depriving it of its political weight, speculations about the "overall package" are made, as well as with the main problem—the name. The point is that the negotiations on the name will satisfy the Greek strategic interests. In spite of the extremely correct attitude of Macedonian policy and diplomacy, there is still the feeling that there is a nervousness because of the equality between "Great Greece" and "Small Macedonia." This is the reason for the various reactions that are full of political folklore, but altogether everything is dedicated to emphasizing the second plan to the maximum. It is actually persistent in keeping the "Macedonian question" opened. Here the problem of the Macedonian minority in Greece and its consequences is particularly fixed.

The Albanian reactions generally come "from the first hand." The state and political analysts say that it is necessary to make more thorough analyses on what Albania can lose and what it can gain with the Greek recognition of Macedonia, particularly in light of the deteriorated Greek-Albanian relations and the Macedonian-Albanian differences and cooled relations, which came as a result of Tirana's support for the extreme nationalism of representatives of some parties of the Albanian nationality in Macedonia. The relations became particularly tense with the so-called Tetovo university. That is why we should have "reservations" as far as the Albanian reaction is concerned. Albania will normally act from the positions that it has regarding Macedonia—it will probably recognize it under its constitutional name, that is the Republic of Macedonia. Only then will Berisha be able to assert the formula that is used in Albania's mass media, that is the identification of the U.S. policy and its influence in Macedonia and Berisha's policy toward Macedonia!

The Serbian state administration is keeping quiet. However, this silent "speech" has a particular meaning. On the one hand, such a shock was certainly not expected to arrive from its best Balkan friends, the Greeks. The Serbs are now the only ones in the Balkans who do not recognize Macedonia, although they have the least problems with it, particularly bearing in mind that they have joined the U.S. peacemaking scheme for the solution of Serbian-Croatian relations and the war in Bosnia. On the other hand, here lies the constant doubt that "Macedonia alone cannot be a state of its own." It is the old Great-Serbian aspiration for taking Macedonia into Serbia's arms, to which it naturally belongs, does it not?

When we analyze the Macedonian-Greek accord on regulation of relations from these positions, then its historic importance naturally becomes evident. Regardless of who and how one understands the compromise concerning the settlement of relations with Greece, there is one fact that is beyond any dispute—Macedonia was negotiating and it agreed on a solution as an equal state and political partner. It is true that it could not have been accomplished without the U.S. engagement. However, it definitely closed the "Macedonian question" in the Balkans. This is something that Europe was hesitating on or was unable to do. Macedonia has not only equalled and promoted its own position in the Balkans, but it is now becoming a member of very important international organizations. After the Council of Europe, there comes the OSCE, then the NATO "Partnership for Peace." Its corridor toward the world's and European economic and financial institutions is opened. It is the beginning of the Macedonian economic revitalization. There is now the north-south direction, that is the road to Europe, as well as the possibility for the east-west corridor as an alternative for evading the hermetic closure that the present generation has endured.

There is a problem on which there are endless speculations, from the inside and the outside. It deals with the Macedonians living in the neighboring countries. They are not put into a deep freeze, but on the contrary, they have now obtained an international dimension. Their treatment and positions will be dealt with in conformity with international standards and procedures in international and European associations of which Macedonia is a full member. There is a great variety of civil means and mechanisms that will keep the Macedonians living in neighboring countries always current, requiring European standards for their treatment in those countries, normally, without interference in their internal affairs.

One must not be naive to believe that, with the signing of the Macedonian-Greek papers, a "political paradise" is coming. On the contrary, the road to this is paved in a hellish way. There will be a long and fierce battle in "trenches" for Macedonia's position, particularly in reference to the second plan. On this occasion, too, it was demonstrated that the neighbors are prisoners of history, of the past, and of their illusions. It simply makes them blind to the present history, but also firm in their pragmatic state. The "new" history has closed what the "old" history had kept opened for more than a century—the "Macedonian question," either as an "apple of division," a "Balkan powder box," or a "powder keg." The U.S. illumination of the "Balkan Inn" has taken away its charm definitely. Now, there simply can not be discussions about Macedonia without its presence, regardless of whether it has to deal with "historic rights" over it, whether calculations are made for a kind of a Balkan package, of an old-new Slavic package, or for the enforcement of a Pan-Slavic alliance.

Commentary Views Albanian Parties' Stances

AU2509094595 Skopje PULS in Macedonian 22 Sep 95 p 22

[Commentary by Vladimir Jovanovski: "A Little to the Left, a Little to the Right"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The process of change within the frequently opposing currents of the Albanian political body, which started on the eve of last year's elections, is acquiring new dimensions. The cause of this was the controversial letter of the heads of the three most powerful parties of the Albanians in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]—the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity], the NDP [People's Democratic Party], and the PDPSh [Party for Democratic Prosperity of Albanians]—to U.S. President Bill Clinton, but also the present events associated with the solution of the Macedonian-Greek dispute. Just as a retrospection—while some welcomed the signing of the New York accord as an act that will contribute greatly to the easing of the political situation in the Balkans, the effects of which will undoubtedly affect the Albanians themselves, others saw no reason to interfere in something that is not their dispute and thought that the accord means the strengthening of the north-south axis at the expense of the east-west, and thus, a reduction of Albania's role and a weakening of the position of the Macedonian Albanians. There were also others who even called Gligorov and his administration "thieves of symbols" and gave their full support for the Greek side.

Regarding the letter to Clinton, while the Macedonians reacted unanimously and bitterly, the Albanians expressed two opposed opinions. There were those who, surprisingly, gave full support for the letter, and there were others who disagreed with the tone and the language that were used in the letter. In the letter, the terms "FYROM" and "Slav-Macedonians" were used for no particular reason and an integral solution of the Albanian question in the region was advocated, which many interpreted as a direct call for the creation of a state that will encompass all the Albanians living in the region. First FLAKA ET VLAZERIMIT and then VECER reacted by printing the statement of the leader of the Democratic Alliance of the Albanians-Liberal Party [DAA-LP], Dzemail Idrizi. He said that the Albanians have never called the Macedonians "Slav-Macedonians," that they have never denied the identity of the Macedonian nation, and that most of them have never had any uncertainty regarding the Macedonian state. In his opinion, the Albanians cannot accept the concept of an integral solution for the Albanian question on the basis of "All Albanians in one state," adding that most of the Albanians should be praised for the peace and stability in Macedonia, and that they will never willingly be a source of crisis in the region. "Our party is dissatisfied with the realization of the national rights of the Albanians in many fields, but instead of placing those justified rights in key points in the letter to Clinton, they advocated something that is directed against the interests of the Albanians; they denied the existence of a state and a nation, which none of the authors had the mandate to do," Idrizi concluded. There was a similar reaction from an independent member of parliament, Hisen Ramadani: "I, as an Albanian, do not want to give the impression that I do not recognize the Macedonian nation and the Macedonian state as my own. The anti-Albanian forces are using this letter to pretend that the Albanians are a destabilizing factor. Unfortunately, the letter suggests such a possibility, and that is why we reject it," Mr. Ramadani stated.

On Monday evening, Marsel Bilali, an independent member of parliament and former deputy president of the NDP, spoke on the subject for the A1 independent television station. He said that he supported the request for the expansion of the rights of the Albanians, but that he was not sure that the truth was presented in the letter and that they lead to greater tension in the country. Furthermore, Bilali viewed the situation in the overall Albanian political mood in the state from the perspective of the possible formation of new political entities, which, in shaping the interests of this nationality, will put the accent on reality, construction, and a gradual and moderate development, without neglecting the interests of the Albanian electorate in general.

The conflicts in the political subjects of the Albanians have a longer tradition than the last elections. Soon after the entry of the PDP into the Republican Assembly, the differences among some of its leaders became evident. The representatives of the moderate wing of the PDP parliamentary group—for instance Saban Prevala, Ismet Ramadani, and Estref Aliu—with their calls for a peaceful and supported dialogue, were much more agrreable to the Macedonians than Mersim Polozani, Vebi Dzemaili, and Hisni Sakiri. It was possible to notice some differences among the party leadership, in which President Muhamed Halili was identified as the leader of the "hawks" and Secretary Mithad Emini as the leader of the "doves" (later, they both came into conflict with the law; Aliti during the Tetovo "university" affair, Emini regarding the "paramilitary army.")

Some recent events in the PDP that, according to its leader, represents two thirds of the Albanian population in Macedonia, demonstrate that, with the precongress turmoil and the formation of the new, right-wing party of the Albanians, the process of political fermentation and division among this nationality is not over. At the beginning of February, it was revealed that Sami Ibraimi, a high party leader, a member of parliament, and a member of the Macedonian parliamentary group in the Council of Europe, was abandoning the party and that he would act as an independent member of parliament. The reasons were allegedly his "disappointed with the political and economic situation in the country; the imprisonment of some Albanians after fake political processes; the government conducting a weak policy and a 'mafia economy' in which it privatizes everything it can; the participation of the Albanians in this government; and because he had concluded that he could not be a member of a party that rubs shoulders with some personalities from the PDP hierarchy." Two months later, news was disseminated that Estref Aliu had been moved from his position of member of the Central Presidency of the PDP because his views on the Tetovo "university" could not be accepted, and he was recommended to resign from the post of minister of culture. This speculation was then denied by Abdurahman Aliti, but in June the truth came to light. It was revealed that Aliu had "resigned" from the Central Presidency.

There was much more rumor about the dismissal of two important members of the NDP—Vice President Marsel Bilali and Abdulnadi Vejseli, one of the most important financiers. It was said that they would join the PDP. A couple of days ago, however, Bilali stated that the negotiations are still underway and that all options remain open—his inclusion in a "civil party of a civic and national orientation" or the formation of a new party that will be located somewhere to the left of center. While these two have reinforced the moderate current, their former party sticks totally to the extreme right, in which President Iljaz Halili and Secretary Bedredin Ibrahimi resemble the leaders of local PDP branches more than the leaders of an independent party.

The conduct of the DAA-LP is worth mentioning. It is a group with only a modest influence among the Albanian minority, but it is composed of outstanding intellectuals. The independent member of parliament Hisen Ramadani is expected to join its ranks, by which the DAA-LP will become a parliamentary party (like the VMRO-DP [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party] in the former Assembly, of course). There are announcements that, if this happens, it will demand a role in the government, that is to say, a deputy ministerial post (in the Ministry of Construction) and one or two assistant ministerial positions. Measured in quantity, the presence of this party is not of a major importance, but it is important for its quality.

Probably the most important issue of all is how the latest turmoil will be reflected in the largest Albanian political grouping, the PDP. Will its leadership assess that it is better to be closer to the right wing, with the goal of meeting the needs of a great number of Albanians, or will it persist with its insistence on more peaceful activity, for cooperation, and gradual development? Some summer meetings with the leaders of the PDPSh, the NDP, and the PDA-Islamic Road at which joint activity for the realization of the "strategic Albanian interests" was agreed and which resulted, after all, in the famous letter to the U.S. President, suggests the former assumption.

President Walesa Accuses Deputy of Corruption

LD2309165895 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1600 GMT 23 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President Lech Walesa has accused Democratic Left Alliance Deputy Jerzy Dziewulski of helping Boguslaw Bagsik and Andrzej Gasiorowski, owners of the Art-B company, to escape to Israel when Dziewulski was head of the antiterrorist brigade at Warsaw's Okecie Airport.

During a meeting with Solidarity members and the people of Ostrowiec Wielkopolski, Walesa pointed out that these were only his suppositions and there was no proof of it. However, as Walesa stressed, Deputy Dziewulski himself had told him that he got 700 million zloty from Bagsik.

President Walesa—replying to a question why, despite his promises, he had not sent the frauds and swindlers packing—said that the Constitution did not afford him such possibilities.

Walesa Plans To Veto Pension Bill

LD2409190495 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1800 GMT 24 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President Lech Walesa has announced that he is going to veto the Law on Valorization of Old Age and Disability Pensions. He explained that he was asked to do this by Solidarity. During festivities marking the 15th anniversary of Solidarity in Lomza, the president announced that, after winning the elections, he will strive to dissolve parliament, but in accordance with the law. President Walesa stressed that he is ready to sign a contract with Solidarity in exchange for union's support in the presidential election. He made it clear, however, that he will sign such a document only if he agreed with all demands included in it.

[Begin Walesa recording] If I am convinced that proposed solutions are right, I do not have to sign anything, but if this is what Solidarity wants then, of course, I am ready to sign, but only things that I agree with and nobody is going to force me to sign anything I do not agree with. I may lose, but I am not going to do it.

Solidarity knows very well that I have been implementing Solidarity's proposals for a long time. I even do more than Solidarity could wish for. I will reply to these proposals. I have no doubts about 90 percent of them. Ten percent will have to be clarified. But there will be no commitment above the nation and against the nation. [end recording]

President Lech Walesa has denied press reports that he allegedly concluded an agreement with Waldemar Pawlak, according to which the PSL [Polish Peasant Party] leader will help the president to break the coalition in exchange for the post of prime minister in a future government. According to Walesa, this is not the right time for Waldemar Pawlak.

President Lech Walesa has a grievance against Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz for the way in which she decided to run for president. He has ill feelings, as she used to come once a month to a Mass and breakfast, and he defended her. Then, suddenly, she stopped coming and said that she wanted to stand, the president said.

Promises Reforms If Reelected

LD2209214495 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2000 GMT 22 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President Lech Walesa has said during a visit to Silesia that if he loses the election, he will clean his medals and look after his family. He also said that he saw no chance of one center-right candidate emerging for the presidential elections, but that he would make an attempt to get out of this clinch. He also added that he was ready for the meeting with Leszek Moczulski, Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, and Jan Olszewski, which was proposed by the leader of the KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland].

Walesa said that in a second term he would enact vital reforms. He judged the most important to be broader and fairer privatization, an improvement in safety on the streets and at home, increased powers for local government, and—in external affairs—Poland's entry to the EU and NATO. I intend to carry this out, the president declared. He also said he would do everything to get the problems of Katowice Province solved as quickly as possible, so that the best possible conditions for the life and development of Silesia could be created.

Olszewski Staffer on Break-In at Campaign HQ

LD2309111595 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1005 GMT 23 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A break-in took place yesterday at the headquarters of Jan Olszewski's electoral staff. As Polish Radio has been told by Zbigniew Wojciechowski, Olszewski's head of electoral staff, the break-in was confirmed by one of the staff employees in the evening. Wojciechowski added that, earlier, Olszewski's colleagues were unable to gain access to the staff headquarters as it was being blocked by security men from Lech Walesa's electoral staff. Both staffs are located at the same address.

[Begin Wojciechowski recording] The firm stance of the lawyer Krasecki, the plenipotentiary's of Roman Bartoszcze of the Ojcowizna Party, in whose accommodation our National Electoral Committee is situated, meant that he was admitted onto the site, No. 13 Aleje Ujazdowskie. He then confirmed that the doors had been broken down, that the accommodation had been wrecked. Things had disappeared, among others lists of nomination with signatures of support for the candidature as candidate for president of the Polish Republic of Jan Olszewski.

During the night, between 2300 and 2400, the police, and an antiterrorist brigade that was called upon to assist, stormed the address, No. 13 Aleje Ujazdowskie. During the course of the action, journalists from GAZETA POLSKA who wished to produce a report were roughed up. [end recording]

Witold Gieralt, the press spokesman of the Capital Command of the Police, has reported that an investigation into this break-in has commenced.

[Begin Gieralt recording] Almost immediately after this news was received, we directed our forces there, teams whose task is to carry out an examination. At the moment, it is too early to talk of the details. I judge that this will only be possible after some time has passed. These sorts of activities require detailed work, mainly as regards gathering all traces for laboratory work, and also the issues of determining what really has disappeared, and whether it has disappeared. [end recording]

Poll on Participation in Military Operations

WS2509131995 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 25 Sep 95 p 5

[Article by PW: "CBOS on Intervention of Polish Soldiers in Bosnia; We Will Not Send Our Boys There"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *"Should Polish soldiers take part in military operations on the territory of Bosnia?" the Public Opinion Research Center [CBOS] asked its respondents. Half of them opposed participation in such operations.*

At the same time, most of the respondents said that the Balkan conflict threatens the security of Europe.

In early September, a storm was triggered by a statement from Deputy National Defense Minister Andrzej Karkoszka. The deputy minister said that a national debate should be held on participation by the Polish Armed Forces in operations abroad as envisioned by "Partnership for Peace" or by NATO.

CBOS notes that in May more than three out of four respondents supported the idea of incorporating Poland in NATO, but right now only 35 percent support participation by Polish troops in a military intervention abroad. Meanwhile, readiness of the member states to take part in such operations is the basis of the organization's functioning.

Among those 35 percent, only 7 percent firmly support participation by Poles in military intervention forces in Bosnia. Opposition to involvement of Polish Armed Forces contingents in operations abroad is expressed primarily by people over 55 years old.

Most of the respondents (48 percent) are in favor of a peaceful resolution of the conflict. According to 29 percent, escalation of the intervention is a more efficient solution.

Two-thirds of the respondents understand the gravity of the war in Bosnia. More than 70 percent are convinced that the conflict threatens security in Europe, 55 percent says that it threatens global peace, and 45 percent state that it poses a threat to the security of Poland. At the same time, only 29 percent of the respondents declare that they know the intentions of the sides fighting in former Yugoslavia. A definite majority (65 percent) do not know what this conflict is all about.

It is worth recalling that last January 58 percent of the respondents said that the war in Chechnya posed a threat to Poland's security. There is increasing indifference, particularly among young people, to what is going on around Sarajevo.

CBOS conducted its poll between 1 and 4 September with a representative random sample of 1,150 adult Poles.

Central Bank President Criticizes Draft Laws

WS2209121795 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 22 Sep 95 p 9

[Article by Anna Slojewska: "Criticism of Deputies' Draft Laws; NBP Defends Its Independence"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *"The draft laws on the National Bank of Poland [NBP] and on the banking supervision, drawn up by the deputies of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] and the Polish Peasant Party [PSL], are a step back to the period before 1989," NBP President Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz told journalists yesterday. According to her, the first document means that NBP will be an instrument in the hands of the government, whereas the other draft not only separates banking supervision from NBP, but also considerably limits the bank's powers.*

Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz also recalled that in line with recommendations of the Sejm, last March the NBP submitted to the Council of Ministers two draft laws: a bill on the NBP and a draft banking law. They got stuck in the Office of the Council of Ministers, and instead of them two draft laws prepared by Sejm deputies appeared: a draft law on the NBP and a bill on the State Banking Supervision; both of them were signed by a group of SLD and PSL deputies. The NBP president believes that, despite statements made by its authors, the main points of the former draft contradict recommendations presented by the EU.

We already discussed the main differences between the deputies' draft law and the bill prepared by the NBP in the Wednesday issue of RZECZPOSPOLITA. The deputies propose that the NBP president be elected by the Sejm on the motion of the prime minister. Earlier, the NBP suggested that the Sejm appoint the NBP head, but on the motion of the president. Members of the NBP council would be appointed by the Sejm, the government, and the Union of Polish Banks; in line with the NBP draft, members of the council would be appointed by the Sejm, the government, and the president. According to Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, depriving the head of state of the possibility of exerting influence on such important decisions is a practice unknown anywhere in the world and such proposals prove that deputies of the governing coalition want to protect themselves in case the new president represents a different political camp.

The NBP council, as proposed by the deputies, would have enormous powers, both in the area of financial policy and control over the ongoing activities of the board. According to Gronkiewicz-Waltz, the NBP president would become just another person who takes part in ballots and who carries out orders given by the council.

The NBP president severely criticized the method of setting the exchange rate of foreign currencies [kurs walutowy] which was envisioned in the deputies' bill. The rate would be set by the government on the motion of the NBP council; the motion would have to be agreed upon with the finance minister and with the minister of foreign economic cooperation. The central bank would only calculate current rates on the basis of fixed principles and then it would announce them. "The exchange-rate policy would be subordinate to the budget and to foreign trade," Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz warned yesterday. She also criticized the provision which would obligate the NBP to cooperate in implementing the state's economic policies. "In most EU countries there are no such provisions; in countries where such provisions do exist, they are being gradually abandoned," the NBP president stated. She proposed a provision on strengthening the Polish zloty, as well as on achievement of price stability and on its maintenance.

The NBP president was also critical of the deputies' bill on the State Banking Supervision. Before this draft was prepared, the finance minister suggested separation of the banking supervision from the NBP and establishment of a separate institution, which might be subordinated to the Securities Commission. "I did not agree with such a concept however, the draft prepared by the deputies goes even further: In line with it, banking supervision should be under the prime minister. This is particularly dangerous in a situation when the State Treasury indirectly or directly owns 65 percent of the assets of the country's banking system," the NBP president believes. According to her, the bill drawn up by the Sejm deputies deliberately overlooks precautionary regulations for banks which already exist or which are proposed in the new draft banking law. There will be no legal grounds to demand that banks regularly submit financial reports, as well as to order them to combat money laundering. The draft banking law prepared by the NBP suggests that founding capital [kapital zalozycielski] in the form of noncash contributions (equipment and immovable property) do not exceed 15 percent of the entire founding capital. The deputies' bill does not say a single word about this, nor does it include any regulations on loans for shareholders and employees of banks. It does not say anything about fines for board members, as is the case in companies listed on the Stock Exchange and as is envisioned in the draft banking law. According to Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, the draft law is supported by economic circles which are linked to these deputies and which want better access to loans.

Agricultural Policies, EU Requirements Discussed

95P20965A Warsaw WARSAW VOICE in English 6 Aug 95 p 16

[Article by Dariusz Styczek: "Reaping the Breeze"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] This year's harvest yields will probably be 10-15 percent higher than last year; however, no bumper crop should be expected, according to Ministry of Agriculture experts. Grain should be plentiful this year, estimated at 25 million tons. Rapeseed, fruits and vegetables will also abound.

"We're not threatened by a bumper crop; this year's crop will be average," said Agriculture Minister Roman Jagielinski. He said that this year's yields will definitely increase from last year's, but 1994's numbers were exceptionally unfavorable, 20-30 percent lower than usual.

Jagielinski also said that good yields this year are unlikely to cause food prices to fall. "Prices can only grow at a slightly slower rate than inflation, but they will not be falling," he said. A decline in food prices would additionally hurt farmers whose incomes are only 82 percent of the average income attained by people outside the agriculture sector, he said. Jagielinski added that food prices will not have a decisive influence on inflation.

The State Agricultural Market Agency (ARR) has signed contracts for the purchase of 4 million tons of grain. Last year, the agency's contracts covered only 1.6 million tons. The agency plans to purchase wheat for at least 200 zlotys per ton.

In a bid to help poorly equipped farms, the Ministry of Agriculture plans to prepare an initiative calling for a reduction or even the temporary abolition of import duties on tractors and combines. Jagielinski said this is necessary because most farming machines used by Polish farmers are worn out.

A new element of the government's agricultural policy will be farmer settlement in the northeast, southwest and western Pomerania, where 600,000 ha of land lies fallow. The Agriculture Ministry's program calls for the establishment of 4,300 family farms, each with an average area 100-190 ha. The program is aimed at former employees of state farms as well as agriculture school graduates and farmers from regions with a shortage of farmland (including Cracow, Czestochowa, and Nowy Sacz provinces).

Contrary to popular belief, the Agriculture Ministry is not afraid of Polish agriculture's entry into the European Union, Jagielinski said. He said that the new Common Agricultural Policy currently being prepared by the European Union does not concern Poland "because we are not yet a member of the EU." He said the EU's estimates regarding the costs of adjusting Polish agriculture to the 15 countries' standards are "exaggerated and blown out of proportion." The EU estimates that these expenses will reach 32 billion European Currency Units (ECU), while Polish officials believe the costs will not exceed ECU 11 billion.

Trade Liberalization, Relations With CEFTA

95EP0174A Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish 16 Jul 95 No 29, pp 30-31

[Article by Pawel Kapuscinski: "Plowing Together"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The liberalization of agricultural trade with CEFTA [Central European Free Trade Association] countries has a practical dimension to us: After all, this means 25 million additional consumers whose wallets are generally thicker than those of Polish ones. In addition, CEFTA is a kind of laboratory for integrative processes in agriculture—the domain most exposed to state interventionism. As of January 1988, when CEFTA countries will eliminate duties on agricultural and food products, the proper premises will be created for the gradual formation of a "common farm market" of Central Europe. This "little integration" will be a test or perhaps a kind of admission examination prior to "big integration" with the European Union.

For the time being, diplomats are busy as bees on this matter, but the practical outcome of their efforts has so far been rather modest. In November 1994, the prime ministers of CEFTA countries met in Poznan. Subsequently, their ministers of agriculture met in Warsaw last January, and experts deliberated in May in Prague, in June in Budapest, and in the second half of July in Warsaw. Next, in August, the ministers of agriculture are to meet again in Warsaw, and a month later, the prime ministers are to meet in Budapest. Last year, trade with CEFTA countries accounted for 4 percent of our food imports and 2 percent of our exports.

It will be interesting to see whether this year trade will increase owing to the reductions in duties on certain farm commodities, some under quotas and others not.

That is because, acting on the principle of reciprocity, we slashed duties by 50 percent in trade with Hungary and by 30 percent in trade with the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Currently, teams of experts from all four countries are laboring to neutralize the adverse effect of other barriers on trade in farm commodities. This refers to such barriers as the differences in the sanitary, veterinary, and quality-related regulations, requirements, and permits that exist in each country. During the first stage, such documents would be reciprocally honored. "Papers" of this kind, such as the various certificates and attestations, are a real plague to exporters and importers in every country owing to the attendant bureaucratic inertia, but it also sometimes happens that they are utilized as protectionist weapons.

The liberalization of trade is a relatively simple matter, and it has already been decided that, as of 1 January 1996, all farm duties within the CEFTA will be cut in half and totally abolished two years later, as previously mentioned.

But the elimination of customs barriers is only a small step in the direction of creating a common economic area that would afford equal chances to, say, onion growers on the Vistula and on the Danube and enable them to complete only as regards efficiency of production, in the absence of farm subsidies and their distorting effect on competition. That also is the direction in which the World Trade Organization is proceeding in its member countries. By the end of this century, every member of that organization is to reduce subsidized exports by 21 percent and export subsidies by 36 percent (irrespective of a 36-percent cut in duties).

The point is that the farm-subsidy and farm-export-subsidy systems existing among our neighbors are elaborated to an incomparably greater extent than in our country. And this cannot be otherwise considering that in, say, the Czech Republic, agriculture is an inefficient branch of the economy, and it operates in the red—most recently to the tune of 4.1 billion crowns, and in the preceding years even 5.5-6.5 billion. In view of this, one can never tell whether a foreign jar of pickles or paprika is cheaper because it was cheaper to produce or because the foreign producer and exporter received greater financial support from his government.

We asked our commercial attaches in Budapest, Prague, and Bratislava for information on export subsidies, these being the most prominent and revealing link in the chain of farm subsidies provided by each country.

The most developed, well-organized, and lucid system of state financing of farm exports exists in Hungary, which is due to the fact that they traditionally account for one-fourth of all exports from that country.

"In 1994," according to a letter to the editors from Commercial Attache Dr. Edward Molendowski, "Hungarian agriculture and food industry received subsidies totaling about 57 billion HUF [forints] (about $570 million), of which 34.6 billion (about $364 million) for direct subsidies of exports of agricultural and food products. Thus, Hungary's overall farm exports, valued at $2,129.3 billion, were on average subsidized 16.6 percent in 1994. (In 1993 farm exports, valued at $1,884.4 were subsidized to the extent of about $260 million, i.e., 13.6 percent on average.) The 1995 budget law allocated 61.6 billion HUF (about $616 million) for farm subsidies, of which 35 billion HUF in direct subsidies for farm exports, 7.5 billion HUF for supporting the farm market and state procurements, 8.5 billion HUF for supporting agricultural production, 1.6 billion HUF for the development of infrastructure, and 9 billion HUF for the Agricultural and Forestry Fund."

As of 1 April 1993, the special Office for the Coordination of Farm Interests has been operating in Hungary, and one of its four departments is responsible for determining the list of agricultural and food products and annually modified export subsidy rates. In 1994, the following export subsidy rates applied: for meat and processed meat products, 10 to 30 percent; for eggs, 10 to 20 percent; for dairy products, 15 to 30 percent; for vegetables, 25 percent; for potatoes, 10 percent; for frozen fruits and vegetables, jams, and compotes, 25 to 30 percent; and for alcoholic beverages, 10 to 30 percent.

For this year the export subsidy rates are as follows: For livestock, 20-40 HUF/kg; for meat and processed meat products, 20-130 HUF/kg; for eggs, 600 HUF/kg; for wheat, 1,200 HUF/kg; for macaroni, 14 HUF/kg; for fruits and vegetables, 4-40 HUF/kg; for frozen food products, jams, and compotes, 30 HUF/$1; for dairy products, 23 HUF/$1; for seeds, 10 HUF/$1; and for alcoholic beverages, 6-34 HUF/$1.

The undersigned found that this system works effectively, or even too effectively, when, while engaging in private business activity a couple years ago, he imported paprika from Hungary. For while the total amount payable on the invoice corresponded to the negotiated value of the vegetable and the agreed-upon cost of transportation, the cost of transportation was slashed to an incredible extent, but the price of the merchandise was raised by a corresponding amount. The Hungarian seller explained that this "error" was due to the 25-percent subsidy added to the value of the exported merchandise, a subsidy which he had collected at the appropriate office. This is what happens with most administrative financial instruments. An ideal but utopian solution would be total liberalization of the economies—of course, in every country the world over. But since that is not so, we have to watch attentively what our foreign partners are doing.

The interesting report sent us by Commercial Attache Andrzej Tymkowski from Prague indicates that Czech agriculture, whose contribution to the generated national income is tiny—4.5 percent according to the Czech Ministry of Agriculture and barely 3 percent when calculated by the Eurostat method. It benefits from massive government subsidies but, unlike Hungary, export subsidies represent a smaller part of overall farm subsidies (this being due to the smaller participation of foreign markets in utilizing the farm output of that country).

Direct farm production subsidies from the state budget amounted to 3.5 billion crowns ($129 million) in 1994. The Agricultural and Forestry Support and Loan Guarantee Fund, established last year, was given by the Czech government 3 billion crowns ($110.6 million) and shares in farming-sector enterprises worth 2.6 billion crowns ($95.9 million). This fund provides loan guarantees and subsidizes bank interest payments so that the average interest rate charged for farm loans is 2.6 percent.

Export subsidies are handled by the State Fund for Market Regulation in Agriculture, which last year allocated 3.9 billion crowns ($143.9 million) for market regulation, of which 1.15 billion crowns for subsidizing exports of powdered milk and butter (on the average 1.59 crowns per liter of milk). Last year, it granted subsidies for the exports of 25,000 tons of potatoes, 14,000 tons of potato starch, 73,000 tons of barley malt;

4,600 tons of slaughter cattle, 2,600 tons of slaughter hogs, and 100,000 tons of wheat.

We are publishing these detailed data in the belief that they will be of interest not only to scientists and politicians but also and principally to our exporters, who as a result will be better able to foresee the competition which they may encounter on foreign markets.

We are still awaiting a reply from Bratislava.

In August, we shall try to present a report on the system of farm export supports in Poland, concerning which we will say for the time being that, compared with the systems of our CEFTA partners, it is either too backward or too advanced by many light years—when viewed in the light of the worldwide trend toward the liberalization of economic systems.

Montenegro's Bulatovic Holds News Conference

AU2209182195 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1600 GMT 22 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The first round of official talks between Romanian and Montenegrin Presidents Ion Iliescu and Momir Bulatovic were held this morning in the presence of the official Romanian and Montenegro delegations. During the talks, the sides approached issues regarding the situation in the area of the former Yugoslavia. Romania's wish to support efforts aimed at a peaceful settlement of the conflict situation of that region became evident.

The sides expressed the wish to continue economic cooperation after the embargo on the Yugoslav Federation—Serbia and Montenegro—is lifted.

After the talks, the president of the Republic of Montenegro laid a wreath at the monument of the unknown soldier and attended an official lunch offered by the Romanian president, our correspondent Sorin Croitorescu informed us.

This afternoon, concluding the visit paid to Romania by the president of the Republic of Montenegro, a joint news conference of the presidents of Romania and Montenegro, Ion Iliescu and Momir Bulatovic, was held at Cotroceni Palace. The news conference was preceded by a brief round of talks between the two presidents.

During the news conference, today's visit was assessed as a continuation of the dialogue between Romania and the Yugoslav Federation—Serbia and Montenegro—in a decisive moment for the political settlement of the crisis in the space of the former Yugoslavia.

President Ion Iliescu hailed the Yugoslav side's positive assessment of the involvement of the United States in this process, while President Momir Bulatovic expressed his concern over the escalation of offensive actions by the Croats and Muslims in Bosnia, which might have a negative influence on the peace process, which, with the support of the United States, has almost reached a final stage.

At the same news conference, the presidents of Romania and the Republic of Montenegro stressed the wish of the two sides to resume economic collaboration after the embargo on the Yugoslav Federation is lifted. They asked the two governments to take concrete steps toward ensuring contacts aimed at identifying ways to immediately relaunch economic relations.

At the end of the news conference, an official farewell ceremony was held at Cotroceni Palace to mark the end of the visit paid to Romania by the president of the Republic of Montenegro, Momir Bulatovic.

Iliescu Urges 'New Impetus' for Hungarian Treaty

LD2209194895 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 22 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Romanian President Ion Iliescu has said that with his proposal for a Hungarian-Romanian historical reconciliation, he wants to give new impetus to the Hungarian-Romanian Treaty negotiations. Speaking to Hungarian journalists, Ion Iliescu said that a simultaneous signing of the treaty and the three draft documents is conceivable.

He added, however, that he is willing to go along with other solutions, too. The president also said that an individual in Romania does not need impulses from abroad in order to feel at home, but it is a fact that relations between states based on mutual trust can have a favorable effect on internal peace and order.

Reconciliation Drafts Presented to Hungarian Envoy

AU2209121295 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 22 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Teodor Melescanu, minister of state and minister of foreign affairs, has given an audience to Hungarian Ambassador Ferenc Szocs this morning. He presented the texts of the draft political and legal documents that the Romanian side is proposing to the Hungarian side for negotiation as a result of President Ion Iliescu's initiative on an historic reconciliation between Romania and Hungary.

A communique received from the ministry's Department for Press Relations points out that Foreign Minister Melescanu handed over the draft Joint Romanian-Hungarian Declaration, a political document designed to sanction the reconciliation between Romania and Hungary, as well the draft Agreement on Reconciliation and Partnership Between Romania and Hungary and the draft Behavior Code on Cooperation Between Romania and Hungary in Matters Pertaining to National Minorities, the latter two having legal value.

During the meeting, Foreign Minister Melescanu said that the Romanian side wants to continue negotiations on the basic treaty in the spirit of the historic initiative proposed by the Romanian president.

Also today, Hungarian Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs received Romanian Ambassador to Budapest Ioan Donca, who conveyed to him the three draft documents, the communique reads in conclusion.

Drafts Displease UDMR

LD2409215195 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 24 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] is dissatisfied with the Romanian president's reconciliation initiative because Ion Iliescu's drafts contain no compulsory regulations for the protection of minorities. UDMR Chairman Bela Marko said, in the so-called inner parliament of the Transylvanian minority organization, that the relevant committee of the Romanian Senate had finally put the education bill on its agenda, which the UDMR had elaborated on and which they had collected half a million supporting signatures months ago. [passage omitted]

What Ethnic Hungarians Want in Education Law

95P21077A Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 16 Aug 95 pp 1-2

[Article by Corina Dragotescu and Silviu Achim: "After the New Education Law Was Promulgated—the Constitutional Court Accepts the Validity of the Legislative Initiative Supported by Almost Half a Million Hungarians"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 27 July of this year, the Constitutional Court adopted a decision referring to the citizens' legislative initiative on education in the languages of the national minorities, saying that this initiative fulfills the formal conditions for taking the route of any other draft law. The Court calls upon the government and Parliament to draw up and adopt a law in regard to the legislative initiative of the citizens which would precisely regulate conditions for exercising this constitutional right.

The initiative mentioned above was the work of the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania]. Dissatisfied with the variant of the Education Law adopted in June 1994 by the Chamber of Deputies, this group prepared its own variant of the law and, in order to give the law more weight, it decided to accompany it with signatures of ethnic Hungarians in Romania, beginning 1 September 1994. The UDMR performed a real tour de force, gathering 492,380 signatures in less than three weeks—that is, double the number of signatures required by the Constitution. On 19 September 1994, the proposal of the legislative body, accompanied by 61 dossiers with 13,389 lists of signatures, was filed with the Permanent Bureau of the Senate. In its turn, the Permanent Bureau forwarded the proposal to the Constitutional Court, which was asked to rule on the legality of this initiative. From the very beginning, there were voices which disputed the authenticity of the signatures and the truthfulness of the dates written on the lists, maintaining that, if even one signature is false, the initiative itself is compromised by invalidity. This aspect even gave rise to a parliamentary incident. After a friendly argument between senators Doru Ioan Taracila and Attila Verestoy, in the course of which the minister of interior stated that the lists contained the names of "the deceased and minors," the UDMR parliamentary group officially asked the legal bodies to present the status of the verification of the signatures. Responding to the request, the Ministry of Interior presented two preliminary reports. According to the most recent report, dated 9 June 1995, upto 30 May of this year, some 118,044 persons were verified and 10,088 of these people (8.55 percent) were not included in the population records. In addition, in 13,899 cases, one person signed for 1, 2, 3, or even 4 members of a family.

Therefore, the appropriate directorate in the Ministry of Interior asked for more time (at least 9 months more) to complete the verification process. The UDMR representative repeatedly said that they were dissatisfied with the progress of the operation, considering it an attempt to delay the listing of the legislative initiative on Parliament's agenda.

In the meantime, the combined chambers of Parliament concluded the discussions on the Education Law, on the basis of a draft from the executive branch. The new law was contested by the UDMR, both at the Constitutional Court and at the Presidency, going so far as to ask the president to send it back to Parliament. On the occasion of the audience given to the UDMR parliamentary groups on this matter, President Iliescu referred to the aforementioned legislative initiative, expressing the opinion that it is more like a platform-program than a legislative project. In the same session in which it made a pronouncement on the constitutionality of articles of the Education Law which were contested by the UDMR, the Constitutional Court decided to refine its point of view in connection with the legislative initiative on education in the languages of the national minorities. This session was held on 27 July. Deliberating on this subject, the Court said that it could not verify whether this initiative belongs exclusively to citizens with the right to vote or whether the supporters of the initiative are residents of the counties from which their signatures come. At the same time, it was determined that a verification of one-quarter of the lists discovered irregularities in only 9 percent of the cases. Thus, keeping the same proportions, the valid signatures, out of the 492,000 signatures collected, would exceed the 250,000 signatures required by the Constitution. This prompted the Court to consider that the aforementioned citizens' initiative is in accordance with constitutional provisions.

Ten Months of Waiting

The UDMR legislative initiative has been in the Constitutional Court for 10 months. From time to time, at intervals of about a month, the Court met in plenum and examined the status of the verification of the lists of signatures, with the intention of making a final decision on the legality of the initiative. Here is a brief, concrete account of this waiting:

19 September 1994—The Senate informs the Constitutional Court of the legislative initiative for the purpose of verifying the satisfying of the conditions for exercising this initiative.

30 September 1994—The Court plenum informs the Government that the latter should verify whether the persons who signed the lists have the right to vote and whether they come from the respective counties.

1 November 1994—The Office of the General Secretary of the Government communicates the fact that the Executive will ensure full support for the action.

5 January 1995—The Court finds that it has not received the results of the verifications from the Government and asks that operations be speeded up.

23 February 1995—The Court plenum asks the Government to continue the verifications and to conclude the action by 23 May 1995.

3 March 1995—The Ministry of Interior communicates the partial results of the verifications, asking the Court to determine whether a decision could be adopted on the basis of these results. In brief, the data are as follows: between 14 November 1994 and 1 March 1995, some 101,906 persons were verified. The result was that 93,825 of these were listed in the census with the data given on the lists of supporters, while 8,081, that is, 8 percent, were not listed in the census with the information given on the lists.

10 March 1995—The Office of the General Secretary of the Government states, in a communication, that it will take at least another 9 months to complete the verifications.

23 May 1995—The Court requests the continuation of the verifications and the completion of the action by 5 September 1995.

9 June 1995—There is a new partial report on a verification carried out by the Ministry of Interior which does not change the proportion of 8 percent erroneous data which was presented in the earlier report.

18 July 1995—The Plenum of the Constitutional Court changes the deadline for resolving the case to 27 July 1995.

27 July 1995—The Constitutional Court issues its final decision on the legality of the legislative initiative of the UDMR on education in the languages of the national minorities.

The Ministry of Interior Continues the Verifications

The position of the Directorate for the Census of the Population, which is verifying the signatures on the lists is as follows: "As of this date, the verifications are being carried out. A number of things have been noted, including the signatures of persons under 18 years of age and of persons who are no longer in the country or who are deceased. This has been the case for almost 10 percent of the signatures. When the verifications are completed, we will see if this percentage has increased or decreased. We have not received any information through official channels in regard to the recent decision of the Constitutional Court ordering the termination of the verifications. We will contact the Court. Until then, we will comply with the most recent orders which the Constitutional Court has given us, which refer to the continuation of the examinations."

What the Current Education Law Offers the Minorities...

Article 118—Persons belonging to the national minorities have the right to study and to be instructed in their mother tongue in all levels and forms of education, under the conditions of the present law.

Article 119—(1) On the basis of local needs, groups, classes, sections or schools with the languages of the national minorities as the languages of instruction can be organized, upon request and under the conditions of the law.

(2) The provisions of paragraph (1) of this article will be applied without jeopardizing the teaching of the official language and the use of this language as the language of instruction.

Article 120—(1) In primary education, Romanian language and literature are taught on the basis of curricula and school textbooks which are specially prepared for the respective minority. In gymnasium and lycee education, Romanian language and literature are taught on the basis of curricula and school textbooks which are identical with the ones used in classes in which the language of instruction is Romanian.

(2) In gymnasium and lycee education, the history of the Romanians and the geography of Romania are taught

in the Romanian language, on the basis of curricula and school textbooks which are identical with those used in classes in which the language of instruction is Romanian. Examinations in these subjects are given in Romanian. In primary education, these subjects are taught in the mother tongue.

(3) The history and traditions of the national minorities in Romania will be reflected in the curricula and textbooks for world history and the history of the Romanians.

(4) The history and tradition of the national minorities, with the mother tongue as the language of instruction, are introduced as a subject in gymnasium education, upon request. The analytical criteria and textbooks for this subject are approved by the Ministry of Education.

Article 121—Pupils belonging to the national minorities who attend educational units in which Romanian is the language of instruction are assured that, upon request and under the conditions of the law, they will be able to study their mother tongue and literature as well as the history and traditions of the respective national minority.

Article 122—(1) In state vocational and lycee education—in technical, economic, administrative, agricultural, forestry, and agronomical education—as well as in postlycee education, the specialized instruction is carried out in the Romanian language, while the students are assured that, when possible, they will also be able to learn specialized terminology in their mother tongue.

(2) In state medical university education, in the existing sections, specialized instruction can continue to be given in the mother tongue, with the obligation to learn the specialized terminology in the Romanian language.

Article 123—Upon request and under the conditions of the present law, groups and sections with the mother tongue as the language of instruction can be organized in state university education for the purpose of training the necessary cadres for teaching and cultural-artistic activity.

Article 124—At all levels of education, the entrance competitions and the graduation examinations are carried out in the Romanian language. Entrance competitions and graduation examinations can be carried out in the mother tongue in schools, classes and specialized subjects in which the respective mother tongue is the language of instruction, under the conditions of the present law.

Article 125—The Ministry of Education ensures that teaching personnel have training and advanced training in the language of instruction and provides school textbooks and other teaching materials.

Article 126—A proportional representation of teaching cadres from the ranks of the minorities is ensured, with respect for professional competence, in the management of educational units and institutions in which there are groups, classes, or sections which are taught in the language of the national minorities.

...And What the Hungarians Are Demanding

Article 1—Persons belonging to the national minorities have the right to education with instruction in their mother tongue on all levels and in all types and forms of education.

Article 2—The parent or the legal guardian make the decision regarding the option of a minor child to attend school with instruction in the language of a national minority in the respective educational units. This is an inalienable right which will be strictly observed.

Article 3—(1) In accordance with expressed requests and needs, education is organized with instruction solely in the language of the national minorities in all domains of socioeconomic, educational, and cultural-artistic life in:

a) preschool education, in separate kindergartens or in groups;

b) primary education in schools, sections, classes or separate groups;

c) secondary education (gymnasium, lycee, vocational), in schools, sections, classes or separate groups;

d) vocational education, in schools, sections, classes or separate groups;

e) university, higher, or college education, in universities, institutions of higher education, colleges, faculties, sections, years or separate groups;

f) postuniversity and postgraduate education. These can be state, private or religious.

(2) Natural and legal persons belonging to the national minorities have the right to establish and maintain religious or private educational institutions in which their native tongue is the language of instruction.

Article 4—The study of the Romanian language is carried out in the interest of all the persons belonging to the national minorities in Romania. In primary, gymnasium and lycee education, the Romanian language and Romanian literature are taught on the basis of curricula and textbooks prepared especially for the respective minority.

Article 5—The history and traditions of the respective national minority are included, as a subject of study, in gymnasium and lycee education in which the language of the national minority is the language of instruction.

Article 6—Pupils belonging to the national minorities who attend educational units in which the Romanian language or a language of international circulation is the language of instruction are guaranteed that they will be able to study, as subjects, their mother tongue and literature as well as the history and traditions of the respective national minority. At the request of the pupils themselves or of their parents, and regardless of their ethnicity and their language of instruction, pupils will have the opportunity to study the language of a national minority in the country

Article 7—In technical, agricultural, economic, medical, and legal education, specialized training is carried out in the mother tongue, while ensuring that the specialized terminology will also be learned in the Romanian language.

Article 8—For the purpose of preserving the ethnic identity of persons belonging to the national minorities, for preschoolers, pupils, and students from localities where their number is less than that specified by law, hostels and boarding schools or possibilities for common transportation under the conditions specified by law will be organized at the closest school with instruction in their mother tongue. This provision is applicable for all levels, types, and forms of education.

Article 9—In competitions and admission exams or in those for bachelor's degrees, dissertations and doctorates, candidates can be examined both in their mother tongue and in the language in which they studied the respective subject, depending on the candidate's choice.

Article 10—(1) The Ministry of Education ensures the training and the advanced training of the teaching personnel in the mother tongue and also provides textbooks and other teaching materials in the languages of the national minorities.

(2) To satisfy the needs for teaching cadres, teachers invited from other countries, under the conditions of the law, will be accepted as associate teaching cadres.

Article 11—School and higher education diplomas obtained abroad will be equivalent and will be recognized under conditions of the law and in accordance with bilateral conventions.

Article 12—(1) Within the Ministry of Education, a State Secretariat for education in the languages of the national minorities is organized to direct and coordinate this education through the appropriate departments in the county and zone school inspectorates to which the education units and sections in the languages of the national minorities belong.

(2) The management functions in this system will be held by persons belonging to the national minorities, on the basis of their representation on the county, zone, and national levels.

Article 13—*In the management of educational units and institutions in which there are sections, classes, groups or formations in which a national minority language is the language of instruction, a proportional representation of teaching cadres' is assured from the ranks of the respective national minorities.*

Article 14—*(1) Religious denominations recognized by the state are free to organize, establish, and maintain religious educational units and institutions on all levels, in all forms and types in the language of their members:*

a) for training religious cadres;

b) for general culture and specialized education.

(2) Education plans and programs for courses of a religious nature will be determined by the appropriate organs of the respective denomination. Education plans and programs for specialized courses or courses in general culture as well as regulations for organization and operation will be determined by mutual agreement between the Ministry of Education and the State Secretariat for Religious Affairs.

(3) Teaching personnel in the education units of the religious denominations of the national minorities, recognized by the state, are appointed by their statutory organs in accordance with the statute of the denomination. The teaching cadres will have necessary qualifications to meet the standards in effect for the corresponding level of state education.

(4) The graduation diplomas and certificates issued by the educational units of the religious denominations are equivalent to similar diplomas issued by state education.

(5) The religious denominations can have boarding schools and hostels for pupils and students, for their own educational units.

Article 15—*The state and the local administrative authorities finance the education of the national minorities and support private educational institutions.*

Article 16—*As of the date that the present law goes into effect, the following will be reorganized and reestablished:*

—"Bolyai" University in Cluj-Napoca, with the requested range of faculties and sections, including pedagogical and scientific faculties and sections;

—The Medical-Pharmaceutical Institute in Targu Mures;

—The "Szentgyorgyi Istvan" Theater Institute in Targu Mures, as independent institutions with Hungarian as the language of instruction; as well as sections in which Hungarian is the language of instruction in:

—The Gheorghe Dima Academy of Music in Cluj-Napoca;

—The Agronomy Institute in Cluj-Napoca;

—The Ion Andreescu Institute of Plastic Arts in Cluj-Napoca;

—The Pedagogical Institute in Targu Mures;

—The departments with Hungarian as the language of instruction in the Technical University in Cluj-Napoca; as well as all those institutions of higher education with a language of a national minority as the language of instruction, which did exist and whose reestablishment is sought by the respective minority.

Article 17—*In accordance with the provisions of the present law, legal and natural persons belonging to the national minorities have the right to establish new institutions, faculties, or sections of higher education in which the language of the respective minority is the language of instruction.*

Drnovsek Rejects Italian Demands in Istria

AU2409171295 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 23-24 Sep 95 p 2

[Interview with Slovene Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek by Josef Kirchengast; place and date not given: "Slovenia Might Just Be the First Victim"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Kirchengast] Mr. Prime Minister, you have been quoted as saying that Slovenia does have an alternative to EU membership. What did you mean by that?

[Drnovsek] I never said that there is an alternative. It is clear that the EU has priority for Slovenia. However, of course we are also trying to expand our trade relations with other groups of countries, such as EFTA [European Free Trade Association] and now also CEFTA [Central European Free Trade Association]. However, with currently 68 percent of our foreign trade, the EU is our most important partner. Therefore, the natural development is moving into the direction of full membership. Still, we cannot accept all conditions right from the start. No one has done that.

[Kirchengast] Italy has vetoed the EU association treaty with Slovenia. Among other things, it demands that Slovenia give Italians ("optants"), who were repatriated from Istria in the course of peace agreements after World War II, an option to buy houses and real estate property that were expropriated then. Does Slovenia still have leeway for negotiations?

[Drnovsek] It was very unfortunate of Italy to link EU issues with bilateral issues. Italy demands concessions from Slovenia—the return of a certain number of houses and real estate plots—even though these issues were clarified in the treaties with the former Yugoslavia (Osimo in 1975, Rome in 1983) and Slovenia is willing to continue paying the agreed compensation.

[Kirchengast] How has the EU reacted to Rome's linkage?

[Drnovsek] Brussels demands that Slovenia completely liberalize its property law within four years after the association treaty comes into force. This is more than is demanded, for instance, of the EU member Austria. We are now willing to liberalize completely the purchase of land for companies and for people who want to live permanently here, but not for second residences. For this we are ready only in connection with full EU membership.

[Kirchengast] Italy obviously feels strong enough to enforce its demands.

[Drnovsek] Perhaps the Italians believe that we are in a situation in which we must accept anything. However, polls show that a large majority of Slovenes reject the linkage of Italian and European issues, even if this were to cost us EU membership. And if the EU accepts this linkage, it creates a case of precedence: An EU member which has demands on a neighbor who wants to join the EU, will try to enforce these demands through the process of accession. This will then become commonplace and Slovenia will only have been the first victim.

[Kirchengast] It seems that Slovenia has to wait at least until the Italian elections next year.

[Drnovsek] I am aware that this is not a pleasant situation for us. However, on the other hand, we do not lose that much. An association agreement is virtually nothing. We will be in a group with 11 other countries, including Romania, Bulgaria, and the Baltic states, all of which are less developed. This is not a motivation for the Slovenes, in particular since they would have to make big political sacrifices.

[Kirchengast] Do you suspect that Italy's demands are an attempt to call the existing national borders into question?

[Drnovsek] This has never been said officially. However, statements by Italian politicians of the extreme right go beyond Rome's official demands and have revived the idea of new Italian expansion in Istria and Dalmatia. Therefore, the Slovenes have become very suspicious, and it is very difficult to persuade them to make concessions to Italy. They believe that this would only be the first step.

[Kirchengast] Could this suspicion also spread to Austria? The Slovene press reported that Austria has broached the issue of the old Austrian minority in Slovenia and the return of property that was expropriated after the war.

[Drnovsek] These issues were discussed during my latest meeting with Chancellor Vranitzky and Foreign Minister Schuessel, but not aggressively—not in the Italian manner, so to speak—but with the clear statement that Austria does not link this with the issue of the EU. That is a big difference.

[Kirchengast] What can be done in this respect?

[Drnovsek] Regarding the question of the old Austrian minority, we established a scientific committee three years ago. We must wait for its results. More important than their number is the fact that this so-called minority is not concentrated in a certain region. (In a poll in 1991 a few hundred Slovenes said that German was their mother tongue—the editor.) Its members live spread out all over Slovenia and they themselves have not said so far that they have problems. Thus, it is perhaps an artificial problem. But if it turns out to be a real one, we will look for solutions.

[Kirchengast] As regards Slovenia's internal situation, there is the widespread view that the country is still controlled by the political-economic network from the communist era.

[Drnovsek] This is no serious topic for me—only for people who expected that the democratic change would automatically give them power. Already 20 years before the change the Communist Party played a far smaller role than in other socialist countries, also in Yugoslavia. All international institutions, such as the Council of Europe, for instance, now attest the highest democratic and human rights standards to Slovenia.

[Kirchengast] The postcommunist parties are accused of preventing even symbolic compensation to the victims of the liquidations shortly before and after the end of World War II and to those of the persecutions under the communist regime.

[Drnovsek] It is important to note what happened at that time. But the future has priority. It is always a problem when politicians want to write history. Today parliament says it was like that. The next parliament says it was different.

[Kirchengast] Some people claim that the opposition against a formal condemnation by Parliament is due to the fact that the postcommunist parties do not want to admit that these crimes were committed in the name of communism.

[Drnovsek] At the official celebrations on the 50th anniversary of the end of the war I, as prime minister, clearly condemned not only the crimes of Nazi totalitarianism but also those of the Stalinist regime after World War II.

Official Views Border Issues, Army Commander

AU2209181495 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 22 Sep 95

[Report by Nadja Pengov and Robert Skerjanc on news conference by Slovene Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek in Ljubljana on 22 September—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Drnovsek did not reply in detail to the questions pertaining to the border in Piran Bay and Slovenia's proposal. As for various public interpellations, he only said that the proposal was not a new one and that Slovenia insisted on sovereignty over the Piran Bay and direct territorial access to the open sea. The maps of the state border commissions are ready. We expected, he said, that the work would be concluded in Maribor, however, as he said, Maribor was in a way even a step back in light of the fact that Croatia is facing extraordinary parliamentary elections. It will be known within 15 days whether we can negotiate further on the basis of the offer or whether we would have to wait for the new elections. In any case, the issues between the countries will be resolved when both countries will be mature enough to find a solution because, as Drnovsek says, there will be no absolute winner, but rather a compromise. When asked whether he could explain in more detail what Slovenia offered to Croatia in return for it adopting the proposal on the border in the Piran Bay—this probably involves foreign currency debts to Croatian savers—Dr. Janez Drnovsek did not wish to reply at this stage of the talks.

To the question of what was in the background of the conflict surrounding the appointment of the new ambassador to Rome, the prime minister made no comment, either, because, as he said, the procedure was closed for the public until its completion.

As for the relations with Italy, he repeated a decision that the government would defend the Slovene interests and that there would be no agreement until Slovenia concluded that the agreement was fit for the government to forward it to parliament for adoption.

The idea proposed in Luxembourg yesterday about a European mediator in the resolution of the controversial property issue with Italy is one of the options, and the government agrees to it, however, we must study how similar questions were resolved by other associate members of the Union and whether the Italian demands were justified. Slovenia will continue to negotiate, but if the negotiations are delayed until January, when Italy will assume the chairmanship of the Union, the whole process will be delayed by at least a year.

[Skerjanc] At the news conference, Prime Minister Drnovsek, among other things, also said that he might meet with U.S. President Bill Clinton this year. Regarding domestic political matters, he, among other things, touched upon the budget and said that the government would do everything to pass the 1996 budget this year.

He also spoke about the proposed replacement of General Staff Commander Albin Gutman. The legal procedure stipulates that the proposal for the replacement of the General Staff commander be submitted by the defense minister. The government cadre commission, that is, the government, then either adopts or rejects such a proposal. Minister Kacin filed the proposal for replacement at the end of July, while the government was expected to end the matter at a correspondence session, so that the replacement would be carried out before the summer recess. However, it looks as though nothing will come of the replacement. Namely, Prime Minister Drnovsek proposes that Defense Minister Kacin should withdraw the proposal for replacement. He decided this after joint talks and a confrontation with Kacin and Gutman. In the talks, he primarily tried to discover what were the actual reasons that led Minister Kacin to opt for the replacement and whether there were such irreconcilable mutual differences between the defense minister and the first man of the Slovene Army that cooperation was no longer possible. The differences, says Drnovsek, are not so great that they could not be resolved through his mediation. Drnovsek does not see the proposal that Kacin should withdraw hid request as a no-confidence vote in the minister, but as his view of the solution of this problem. The decision is in the hands of the government anyway, and today's opinion only represents the view of the prime minister.

Drnovsek also believes that the army should not be politicized by conflicts of this kind, but should be left in peace to be able to procure hardware, train, and prepare for integration into NATO structures.

Federal

Foreign Minister Satisified With Paris Talks

LD2209150995 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1320 GMT 22 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Paris, 22 Sep (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic said in Paris today that the Franco-Yugoslav talks confirmed that the two countries shared the common aspirations toward peace and a substantial enrichment of mutual relations.

"I was pleasantly surprised. Talks with President Chirac and our talks in Paris were meaningful and they confirmed that the two countries regard peace efforts as their common and basic interest, and we have agreed to substantially enrich our bilateral relations, to make sure that they develop in the traditional spirit and in the spirit of good old times," Milutinovic told a news conference held in Paris today. President Chirac, with his experience as a statesman, drew attention for the necessity to create such bilateral relations in the future, Milutinovic added.

The French side also expressed satisfaction with the content of the talks, and Foreign Minister Herve de Charette confirmed that they encouraged an enrichment of bilateral relations and that France and Yugoslavia were making efforts to resolve the crisis and especially to end the war in Bosnia.

Everything points to the conclusion that the Franco-Yugoslav dialogue is necessary, that the time is right to reevaluate fundamentally bilateral relations, and that nothing that can jeopardize a successful outcome of the peace process should be done.

At the end of his two-day working visit to France, Milutinovic drew attention to the fact that there was no point in using force if peace was the desired outcome. The Paris talks revealed that France is now adjusting its policy to take into account the necessity to reach peace and that it wishes to forge a better cooperation with Belgrade as an inevitable and, practically speaking, key partner in the Balkans.

Milutinovic stressed that Yugoslavia wanted France to play an even more significant role on the European scene. After the talks, de Charette announced that Paris will soon be a host to all partners interested in resolving the crisis. It could be said that the French diplomacy is preparing a new initiative in order to strengthen its position, since the United States is in charge of all key activities, for which commentators here criticize President Chirac.

Milutinovic also said a peace agreement is within reach, that Yugoslavia is ready to sign it right away, and that hence, it wanted a peace conference, which should not be interrupted until a final peace is reached, to take place as soon as possible. It is not in the interests of Europe for this tragedy to continue, he said.

Milutinovic stressed that many wanted to drag Serbia into the war and that our restraint should not be seen as weakness.

We are above all for peace, but we have our limits. The Muslims, as well as many others, want to get the North Atlantic pact involved in the war, Milutinovic said.

Talking about the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Milutinovic noted that an attack on Banja Luka will mean that there is no desire for peace. That will be "a Balkan Stalingrad" and the proof that the international community is powerless or biased as far as the full understanding of this tragic situation is concerned.

Talking about the territorial issue, Milutinovic pointed out the necessity of carrying out the division in a manner that will allow for territories to be complementary [komplementarnost teritorija]. This means that the principle 51:49 stays, but this does not mean that a square mile will be exchanged for a square mile, because we should take into account not just the quantity, but also the quality of territories. Within this context, Milutinovic noted the desirability of demilitarization of entire Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Yugoslav foreign minister also specified that the lifting of sanctions imposed on Yugoslavia will strengthen the peace process, which will bring about peace inevitably and swiftly. "It is insane to play with war when we are on the brink of peace," Milutinovic said.

In a reply to journalists' questions, he stressed "Russia's role in the peace process is considerable."

"We would want it to be even more significant. We truly appreciate Russia's efforts," the Yugoslav minister said.

He said that it will be very desirable to explain insanities that went on in Yugoslavia following its breakup, because nations will not be able to understand what had happened on the soil of that former country, and not to explain this tragedy could be tantamount to a call to repeat it in some other part of Europe.

It is generally believed that Minister Milutinovic is returning to Belgrade satisfied, because everything points to the conclusion that a more dynamic and enriched bilateral cooperation can be expected. The announced visits by Chirac to Belgrade and Milosevic to Paris will certainly contribute to this and it is beyond doubt that the finished Paris talks have launched this process.

Assesses Chances for Peace

AU2209202695 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 22 Sep 95

[Interview with Federal Yugoslav Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic by Milorad Komrakov in Paris on 22 September—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Komrakov] Mr. Minister, we are at the end of two important visits that you have paid in the last four days, namely to Rome and Paris. The most frequently heard sentence in both Rome and here in Paris is that peace is closer than ever.

[Milutinovic] This is correct, but there are also a number of obstacles to peace and we are striving in our contacts with our partners to draw their attention to the dangers for the peace process. It is easy to continue the war, that is to say, this is difficult for us, but for the opponents of peace, it is not difficult at all to invent various reasons and various ways to stop the peace process.

In our talks we have tried to explain to our collocutors the general nature of the problems concerning the peace process, regardless of how close it may appear to be now. There are still many dangers and obstacles that need to be overcome, mainly because of the one-sided approach of the international community. We are not a problem, but others, whom peace does not suit, could be a problem, they could invent problems to stop this since the peace option on the territory of Bosnia does not suit them.

[Komrakov] The peace policy of Belgrade, Serbia, Yugoslavia, and President Milosevic has been met with support by almost all of your collocutors here in Paris, too.

[Milutinovic] Yes, this has been emphasized by all of them, several times. This has resulted in an open invitation by President Chirac to President Milosevic that he is welcome at any time. So, this is an open invitation. He can choose the date and time of his visit to Paris. Paris is very interested in, if I may say so, overcoming this lag in relations between the two countries, between traditional friends, and in some way it wants to make up for the damage that has been done in the period behind us.

[Komrakov] Mr. Chirac has promised that the process of lifting sanctions on Yugoslavia will practically start with the conclusion of the conference on Yugoslavia.

[Milutinovic] France has always been close, so to speak, to Russia's stand that the sanctions should be lifted as soon as possible, that they should be linked to certain successes in the peace process, or to a certain stage. I think that from this point of view they have been very consistent. They now understand primarily the psychological-political significance of lifting the sanctions, not only for Yugoslavia, its peoples, the economic situation, and political stability in our country, but also because the very lifting of the sanctions would significantly influence all warring parties and would make them understand that the game is over, that peace must appear on the stage, and that, if I may say so, they sit at the negotiating table of their own will and not only through the pressure of the international community.

[Komrakov] Thank you for the interview.

Germany's Kinkel Comments on Renewal of Dialogue

LD2309194295 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1909 GMT 23 Sep 95

[By Slobodan Jankovic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bonn, Sept 23 (TANJUG)—German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel hinted at a certain change in Bonn's policy towards Belgrade by announcing that he may meet with his Yugoslav counterpart Milan Milutinovic in New York shortly.

In an interview to be published by DER SPIEGEL on Monday Kinkel said that Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic was a key figure in the present peace efforts.

Germany is the only member of the international contact group that has so far consistently avoided high-level meetings with representatives of the federal republic of Yugoslavia, made up of Serbia and Montenegro.

Kinkel said that Germany did not lead an anti-Serb policy and added that he had always considered that the Serb people had to find their place in Europe.

He listed a series of preconditions for the renewal of the Belgrade-Bonn dialogue: Sarajevo had to be deblocked, the remaining Muslim enclaves protected and besides Belgrade, the Bosnian Serb leadership had to accept the main principles of the Contact Group peace plan for Bosnia and seriously contribute to a peaceful settlement.

He also added Belgrade's stand towards minorities, citing especially the example of Kosovo, the southern Serb province in which a strong ethnic Albanian separatist movement has been operating.

Kinkel expressed understanding for Croatia's aggression on the Republic of Serb Krajina but stressed that Germany and its European partners demanded that Croatia ensure the Serbs' right to return.

Following Croatia's aggression on the southern and northern parts of the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) in early August, 250,000 Serbs were expelled while 15,000 were driven out in Croatia's earlier aggression on the western part of RSK in May.

Kinkel reiterated in the interview his opinion that German ground troops should not be sent to the former Yugoslavia. The bad memories of Germany, the infamous invading force in the former Yugoslavia during the two warld wars, are still vivid in the memories of the Serbs.

Russian Duma Members Discuss Bosnia Situation

Rybkin on 'Peaceful Settlement'

AU2409194595 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 24 Sep 95

[Statement by Russian Duma Chairman Ivan Rybkin at Belgrade Airport on 24 September; Rybkin speaks in Russian with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Unidentified correspondent] Ivan Petrovic, can you say for Serbian Television what is the goal of your visit to Belgrade?

[Rybkin] The goal is simple and clear. We would like to be here together in these extremely difficult and hard times for the Balkans. We would like to help the peaceful settlement of a grave crisis. I bring greetings from the Russian president and prime minister, and their positions on many events here. I would like to repeat that our entire activity—the delegation comprises the Duma vice president, president of the assembly defense, security, and geopolitical commission, representatives of all parliamentary caucuses—is to contribute to the peaceful settlement of the Balkan crisis, primarily here in the hottest spots.

Prior to our visit, two working groups already visited; we are acquainted with the situation, and the positions of various leaders, and we shall most certainly do everything in our power to see peace and harmony restored here. We shall meet with all the warring parties (?without exception), and when on 4 October the plenary Duma session is held, all of the warring parties' positions will be presented to the Duma.

Lukin Criticizes Sanctions

LD2309153095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1518 GMT 23 Sep 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept 23 (TANJUG)—Chairman of the Foreign Policy Committee of the lower house of the Russian Parliament Vladimir Lukin said here Saturday that he and the members of the State Duma supported President Boris Yeltsin's demand for an urgent lifting of anti-Yugoslav sanctions.

'Sanctions are counterproductive and incomprehensible,' Lukin told a press conference in the Yugoslav Parliament before the departure of the Russian parliamentary delegation from Belgrade.

This is the second Russian Duma delegation which visited Yugoslavia and the Bosnian Serb Republic in the past few days to express support to the Serbs who faced NATO bombings and the Muslim-Croat offensive in central and western Bosnia.

Regarding the West's expectations that Russia would send troops to Bosnia if a peace agreement was reached, Lukin said that it was illogical to expect Russian aid if someone had already reached a certain settlement in which Moscow did not participate.

If, however, Belgrade and Pale consider that Russia should take part in the implementation of the peace plan Moscow will probably meet this demand, Lukin said.

He said that the Russian Parliament was unanimous in its assessment that weaknesses in the work of the Russian diplomacy concerning the crisis in the territory of the former Yugoslavia had to be overcome.

Russia has sufficient experience with focuses of crisis in its own territory to know how they should be solved, so it is widely believed in Moscow that the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina can only be solved through negotiations.

After their visit to the Bosnian Serb Republic and Banja Luka the members of the Russian delegation did not feel certain that military tension, created by the Muslim-Croat offensive could be easily settled, Lukin said.

A new Russian parliamentary delegation headed by President of the Russian Duma Ivan Rybkin is due to arrive in Belgrade on Sunday.

Bulgarian Parliamentary Delegation Meets Officials

LD2309192995 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1728 GMT 23 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept 23 (TANJUG)—Vice-President of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] Goran Percevic said Saturday that Yugoslavia expected that Bulgaria would persevere in its efforts for a peaceful settlement of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia and continue to strive for the lifting of anti-Yugoslav sanctions.

During talks with a delegation of the deputy group "the Democratic Left" of the Bulgarian parliament Percevic, a deputy of the Yugoslav parliament, said that good relations between Bulgarian and Serb socialists have endured the test of time.

He told the Bulgarian delegation that after the socialist government was formed in Bulgaria good relations between the two parties resulted in the developement good relations between the two countries.

The head of the Bulgarian delegation, president of the deputy group of the Democratic left Krasimir Premyanov said that relations between the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) and SPS should constantly promote parliamentary, intergovernmental and all other forms of cooperation between the two countries.

Premyanov, who is BSP vice-president, expressed Bulgaria's sympathy for the consequences of the huge humanitarian catastrophe that has befallen the Serb people in the Bosnian Serb Republic and the Reublic of Serb Krajina.

Percevic welcomed Bulgaria's offer to finance the construction of a humanitarian facility in Yugoslavia and its expressions of support and solidarity with the Serb people.

The Bulgarian delegation also discussed problems in the area of the former Yugoslavia with the speaker of the Yugoslav Chamber of Republics, the upper house of the federal parliament, Milos Radulovic.

The Russian [as received] delegation was informed during its talks with Belgrade Mayor Neobjisa Covic of the problems resulting from the three and a half-year comprehensive sanctions against Yugoslavia and the sudden huge influx of refugees.

Talks also centered on cooperation between Belgrade and Sofia, i.e. Serbia and Bulgaria, and both sides emphasized that there were many possibilities of bilateral cooperation in different fields, including economic, cultural and educational.

Call for Halt to Sanctions Against Bosnian Serbs

LD2409173595 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1646 GMT 24 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 24 Sep (TANJUG)—Several opposition parties represented in parliament today issued statements with regard to current events.

In a joint statement, the Democratic Party (DS), the Democratic Party of Serbia (DSS), and the People's Party of Montenegro (NSCG) recalled that with the setting up of a joint negotiating team of the Serb Republic and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the official reason for the blockade of the Drina [sanctions against the Bosnian Serbs] ceased to exist, and they demanded that the FRY Government should immediately lift this blockade.

The DS said that the federal government reacted much too late to the Croatian decision to confiscate Serb property in the Republic of Serb Krajina and Croatia, since a considerable part of this property had already been destroyed.

The DS stressed that the systematic destruction, looting, and confiscation of the property belonging to the Serbs expelled from the Republic of Serb Krajina and Croatia, and the property in Croatia belonging to FRY citizens, was continuing before the very eyes of the federal government, international community, and owners.

The Serbian Renewal Movement warned in its own statement of cases of abuse of humanitarian aid intended for refugees.

Romany Society Condemns Incitement of Hatred

LD2309184895 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1332 GMT 23 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 23 Sep (TANJUG)—Members of the Romany Belgrade Society today sharply condemned attempts to incite hatred toward Romanies, and urged citizens not to be influenced by nationalistic messages propagating hatred. They stressed that Serbs and Romanies should live in peace and harmony, as they have done so far.

The cause for the news conference were leaflets distributed to Belgrade residents in their mailboxes, urging the hatred for and extinction of Romanies, and referring to them as "Asiatic parasites."

Members of the Romany Belgrade Society stressed that the Romanies are equal citizens of Serbia and Yugoslavia; have always been on the side of the Serbian people; Serbia is their mother country; and they have no "spare homeland."

Serbia

Milosevic Comments on Origins of Conflict

MS2509103495 London BBC Television Network in English 0130 GMT 25 Sep 95

[Interview with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic by Laura Silber; place and date not given; from the "The Death of Yugoslavia" series—recorded; Milosevic and Silber speak in Serbo-Croatian with English subtitles]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [Silber] Can you describe the main problems facing Serbia when you rose to power in 1987?

[Milosevic] In 1987, we primarily faced the problem of Serbia's specific position with Yugoslavia. Unlike other Yugoslav republics which had a clear, defined status within Yugoslavia, Serbia, because of the 1974 constitution was somewhat handicapped. It was divided in three parts. The 1974 constitution gave the two provinces powers. These caused a series of conflicts in Serbia. Central Serbia wasn't defined at all, neither in a constitutional, legal or political sense. The whole economic system and society were in a state of conflict. At the same time in the 1980s a separatist movement erupted again in Kosovo. I can't say it reflected the view of all the Albanians in Kosovo but it was definitely a result of persistent work by the Albanian separatist faction. I make a distinction between the Albanians and the separatist movements. This separatist movement publicly declared its aim in the 1980s. An ethnically pure Kosovo. The position of the province, the fact that it almost had the authority of a state, was then abused in order to expel nearly 40,000 Serbs from Kosovo. Rapes took place. People were killed. Monasteries were burned, fields. [new sentence] The exodus of the Serbs from Kosovo began. The political position of the province of Kosovo was that the Albanians had a majority vote. Many of these people were separatists. Their aim was to separate Kosovo from Serbia, declare it a republic and integrate with Albania. This caused a great crisis. Therefore, we took action aimed at uniting Serbia giving it an equal position with other Yugoslav republics. Thus, Serbia would gain the same opportunities as Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, Macedonia and Montenegro. It would not have three different parts. That is, Serbia proper, and two provinces. It would have an integral policy like all the other republics in Yugoslavia. Further obstacles in our way were the old bureaucratic leaders of Serbia. They blocked the development of a modern market economy. Their traditional relationship towards the separatist Albanians was no help either. We had to resolve the question of re-uniting Serbia. At the same time, we had to take a great step in modernising political life, making it more democratic. For the first time, party sessions were open to the public. Live broadcasting was introduced, and the press were kept informed about political moves being made. Public opinion was sought in order to change those things that we all thought should be changed.

[Silber] In April 1987, when you went among the people and when you said "No one will beat you" what do you remember about that moment?

[Milosevic] I remember it exactly. The situation in Kosovo was intolerable. Serbs had been deprived of their rights. Who would think our country capable of such discrimination? It was unjust that there was discrimination against the Serbs just because their province was given state-like authorities. These were abused by a handful of Albanian separatists in leading positions. We had to stop this agony which our people in Kosovo suffered. I think both nations, not only Serbs. The atmosphere of tension and confrontation is not good for any side. And you can see that in the last few years in Kosovo there's no tension, there are no killings in Kosovo, there is no more criminal behaviour than in the rest of the country. An important fact, which is often forgotten, is that in 1989 when we adopted in the new Serbian constitution which united Serbia the state's powers were returned to Serbia proper. Serbia became equal with the other republican in Yugoslavia. All this was done totally legally and in accordance with the procedure for the change of the Serbian constitution. And this procedure was very strict. It set the condition that the parliaments of the provinces had to vote for the change. In the political atmosphere prevalent between 1987 and 1989 the Kosovo parliament—which had an Albanian majority—voted for these new constitutional changes in Serbia. They realised that these constitutional changes and the unification of Serbia were necessary. This was finished in March 1989 in a very democratic way with the use of exclusively political means. Later, when the Yugoslav crisis started again some tendencies of the separatist movement in Kosovo were renewed. All these changes we made to the structure of Serbia were implemented using perfectly legal means. We followed the proper procedure.

[Silber] Let's go back to 1990. How did your dispute with the Slovenes culminate during the 14th Party Congress? What were the points of dispute?

[Milosevic] Well, the Slovene leaders decided it was better for Slovenia to leave Yugoslavia. To secede. That's how the Yugoslav crisis began. The Slovenes opened the door to the Yugoslav crisis. Although I can't say that they were the only ones to blame. The crisis, what we speak of internal factors was caused by a growing wave of nationalism. Given that Yugoslavia was a multi-national state there couldn't have been any positive effects from this growing wave of nationalism. However, great pressure came from certain countries abroad which would benefit from a breakup of Yugoslavia. That would extend their influence to certain areas of former Yugoslavia. These foreign powers found a fifth column within nationalist circles in Yugoslavia. Especially in Slovenia, which is geographically closest to the West. I wouldn't even say Slovenia, but the Slovene leaders began calculating that they would be better off if they left Yugoslavia. When the crisis began, we had the same views as today. We thought that it would be better for all Yugoslav nations to stay together, and that Yugoslavia be saved. But we also thought we had no right to make decisions on behalf of the Slovene nation or the Croat nation, or any other nation. We had this positive attitude towards Yugoslavia and we still maintain this attitude. We believe that every nation has the right to self-determination. It is better that they remain in Yugoslavia. But if they believe it's better for them to secede then that's their absolute right. Nobody can deny that. That was our stand from the very beginning. However, it happened that in Slovenia and especially later on in Croatia they saw their secession would not be convincing enough unless it were sealed with blood. If it were not done by force. When the crisis began, I was saying both publicly and at meetings with the leaders of other republics that we don't deny anyone their right to self-determination. But let's re-write the constitution and extend the right to secede not just to republics, but to all ethnic groups. Let's set up the same conditions of self-determination for all peoples. Every nation can then do what they feel is in their best interest. We think it's best if Yugoslavia remains united and multi-national. But we will not take things into our own hands. That is up to each nation. As to the war in Slovenia, we didn't even know it had begun. There was an agreement between the Prime Minister, Ante Markovic and the military commanders. In fact, even now, I don't know whether this was linked with the ideas of the Slovene leaders and how much was done individually. However, we immediately condemned this. I was against using the Yugoslav army in Slovenia. Altogether, I think, they had two people killed in that war. And you'll know that better than me from checking the data from the beginning of 1991. It wasn't a war at all. I would say it was a silly incident caused by our federal government. We were accused of contributing to the breakup of Yugoslavia because we tolerated the behaviour of the Slovene leaders. But we thought the Slovenes had the right to do this. And that's how it happened.

[Silber] Could you tell us about the 14th Party Congress and your conflict with Mr Kucan? How did that develop?

[Milosevic] I don't know whether it's worth going into details. The Slovene leaders wanted to impose their vision, their views on the rest of Yugoslavia. That would make the 1974 constitution even more absurd. The seeds were set by the 1974 Constitution. It destroyed the Yugoslav economy. The 1974 constitution contained provision which said that each republic is entirely responsible for its economy. This meant destruction of the Yugoslav economic system. At the time when the entire world was integrating we disintegrated. Each republic had its own economic programme and started developing its economy alone. They applied political means saying to their people that they were doing this in the best interest of the republic. How could it serve any republic if we were weak and divided rather than united in one powerful economy? This process, which began in 1974, reached an absurd point in 1990 about how we should be divided. This had nothing to do with market economy or with common sense. We thought that the process of integration was necessary. On the other hand, the process of disintegration the process of creating small republics and their respective economies within Yugoslavia was a feudal approach to modern economy. This could only bring negative results. We confronted on questions of principle, on the issue of development. Our concept was a single Yugoslav market and stronger links with Europe. It is crazy to think that any Yugoslav republic had a better chance of integrating with Europe if they left the Balkans and Yugoslavia. That was the essense of the conflict. I can't tell you the exact words we used but this was the main dispute.

[Silber] Now we've move on to the Carrington plan. Our programme shows for the first time in the West that you were very interested in signing the agreement, the Carrington peace plan. What in the final draft made you think you couldn't sign it?

[Milosevic] Let me tell you. The document they put before us was totally unacceptable. The reason is simple. With a single stroke of the pen, they proposed to dissolve Yugoslavia. They had no right to do this. They abandoned the principles which we had all accepted when the Hague conference began. It was just a few issues, and I won't waste your time with them. You can check on it. We agreed to attend the conference. We thought that first, we could achieve a political solution. This would affirm the right of the peoples to self determination. We'd reach political decisions on how this right would be implemented. Then, a final political agreement would be made on the future of the former Yugoslavia. Once we all agreed on this, and it was sanctioned we would make it official by adopting this document. However, several weeks after the beginning of the conference the European Community just abandoned these principles. The so-called Badinter Commission was set up. It wasn't an assembly of lawyers. It was an assembly of so-called lawyers. They were making decision based on political pressure. They declared that Yugoslavia no longer existed. We believed Yugoslavia still existed. They couldn't wipe out a country with a stroke of a pen. What will remain of Yugoslavia was to be decided by the Yugoslav people. Not the Badinter Commission, nor the Hague Conference. Because it was logical. If we don't deny any nation the right to leave Yugoslavia then it is impossible to deny the right of those nations who want to stay in Yugoslavia to do so. I don't see why we were forced, or could be forced to decide that we don't exist any longer because someone wants to leave the country. We wanted to remain in Yugoslavia. It's absurd. When the war started we Serbs were accused of nationalism. Us! In fact, those who implemented a forced secession from Yugoslavia to proclaim their national, or even, nationalistic states got the support of the international community. They were treated as democrats. We opted for the preservation of a multi-national Yugoslavia. We have preserved a multi-national Yugoslavia to this day. We continue to live where we've always lived. In the end, we were accused of nationalism. These two things cannot be reconciled. It's so obvious. What has happened since proved us right. Those who forced a secession from Yugoslavia were rewarded. Those who decided to stay in Yugoslavia and preserve it were punished.

[Silber] We go to April 1993. Lord Owen described how you said you accepted the plan. Why did you accept it?

[Milosevic] I'll tell you very briefly. Nothing of the details. It was a principled approach. From the beginning of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina we held the same position, which we hold to this very day. Time will show, I think, that there is no other solution. The crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina can only be solved by political means. It cannot be resolved by military means. That's number one. Number two—the political resolution of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina can only be successful if the interests of all the peoples in Bosnia are protected equally. Muslims, Serbs and Croats. I am convinced that the majority of your audience doesn't know that Bosnia-Herzegovina even before the outbreak of the crisis, even today according to its own constitution is defined as a republic of three constituent nations. The Muslims, Serbs and Croats. Their conflict cannot be interpreted as it has been as Serbia's aggression against Bosnia. It was a conflict within Bosnia, among three constituent nations. These comprised Bosnia-Herzegovina. An illegal referendum on the secession of Bosnia was called. I say illegal, because if the constitution requires the consensus of the three nations then you cannot make a historic decision without one nation. The Serbs did not accept becoming second rate citizens of some Muslim republic run by the regime in Sarajevo. The Serbs said "We want to stay in Yugoslavia." Politically, this problem could have been resolved and I think that the international community was well on its way to resolving it. A conference on Bosnia was called, chaired by Ambassador Cutilheiro. At the Hague conference, chaired by Lord Carrington, Cutilheiro was the first to speak, and said: You must have that. I'm sure you can check. He said his main definition was that the conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina had made good progress. Izetbegovic spoke immediately after him. he insisted on the international recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina. I spoke after them, and asked a very simple question. Cutilheiro is reporting on the good progress of the conference. Izetbegovic demands instant recognition for an illegal Bosnia-Herzegovina which had caused the crisis which led to the conference over which Cutilheiro was presiding. Those two demands were in opposition. Why ruin progress made at the Lisbon conference with premature recognition? Premature recognition can cause tragic consequences. That's the way it happened. And after a few weeks, the international community recognised Bosnia-Herzegovina. Although the referendum by which it declared independence was totally illegal. When Bosnia was recognised, it didn't have a presidency. It was a rump presidency. It didn't have an assembly. The assembly broke up. It didn't have a government. The council of ministers broke up. It was traditionally formed by the representatives of the three nations. And the regime, which gained recognition didn't even control half of Bosnia's territory. Put simply, they trampled over every rule. Premature recognition took place. The Sarajevo government used this international support as a justification to take military action to impose law and order. But that government was never given that mandate. All democratic principles were violated. Izetbegovic and the Sarajevo government had an excuse to start military operations and thus put pressure on the Serbs. That's how the war broke out. Later, Carrington himself said that was the greatest mistake. The premature recognition first of Slovenia, then of Croatia and then absurdly, of Bosnia-Herzegovina too. It had never even existed as a state. And now, I'll return to your question. Because we believed from the beginning of the conflict that there is no other solution, but one which will protect the interests of all three nations equally. When the Vance-Owen plan was proposed it had a more or less balanced approach. We thought it was necessary to equally protect the interests of the three peoples. Whatever plan equally protects those interest we'll support it. Unfortunately, it was rejected. The war continued. Many people were killed in the meantime.

[Silber] How did you try to convince Karadzic to accept this?

[Milosevic] How did I try? You could have watched it on television. The session in Pale where I tried to convince them was broadcast on television. The main thing I said was that the war must stop. Then, in a more relaxed situation, with a lower temperature with less bloodshed and conflict. Then rational political solutions can be sought which would equally protect the interests of all three sides. Even now, the most important thing is to stop the war. Details aren't very important. You can talk endlessly about details. What I used as an argument at that point is recorded somewhere. But we spent the whole day and night in a very heated debate. Karadzic didn't understand the advantages of the Vance-Owen plan. He was too obsessed with territorial issues. These territorial issues, even in the future are not the most important questions. Borders in Europe will slowly disappear. The 21st century is not going to be a Europe divided by Chinese walls. People are going to mix. Isolation is not the future neither of the Balkans, nor of Europe. It was much more important to achieve some other values. Equal treatment, human rights, no discrimination. That's why we supported the Serbs outside Serbia. And that was the borderline of our support that the nation be protected, and not discriminated against. As far as the constitutional set-up is concerned the Serbs had the right to an equal say. We never had any special demands for our nation in comparison to the rights of other nations in the former Yugoslavia.

[Silber] Can you describe the problems in Serbia's province of Kosovo?

[Milosevic] This was a premeditated policy to isolate Kosovo from the rest of Yugoslavia. This was a policy of Albanian separatism. They didn't try to hide it. For the first time I heard the phrase "ethnically pure." The Albanians wanted an ethnically pure Kosovo. We thought that this aim was firstly, uncivilised and secondly, very dangerous. Nowadays, it's ridiculous to talk about ethnically pure states. I don't think an ethnically pure state exists anywhere. Their aim of ethnic purity in Kosovo implied discrimination against all other inhabitants of Kosovo who weren't Albanians. The Albanians could do it because the province of Kosovo was virtually a republic. The local council had the power to implement what I'd call a truly Nazi policy. Thus, we were confronted with an anti-civilisational phenomenon at the end of the 20th century. this policy brutally discriminated. It used the most harsh and violent means from killing and rape, to expulsion, burning of houses, burning churches and fields. This was a campaign to create the so-called Kosovo republic. This is absurd in Serbia, as Kosovo isn't just any part of Serbia. It's the very heart of Serbia. All of our history is in Kosovo. All our monasteries are in Kosovo. Kosovo was Serbian for so many centuries. For anyone in the Serb nation, it's inconceivable that someone could take Kosovo, or steal it from Serbia and transform it into part of another state. But I must tell you that victims of Albanian separatism weren't just Serbs, but also those Albanians who didn't want to take part in those dirty activities. And the other nationalities, Montenegrins, Turks, Muslims, gypsies, even some Croats who had lived in Kosovo. The Albanian separatist movement made its goal public—an ethnically pure Kosovo. That resulted in other, less important activities. These were secondary to their aim. But they all represented a violent, discriminatory policy. It just had to be stopped. And we stopped it.

[Silber] On that dramatic night, during the 14th Party Congress, can you tell us about the moment when the Slovenes walked out?

[Milosevic] They didn't suddenly walk out. They were prepared to walk out of the congress hall. That was a game, a pretty dirty game. But I could see right through it. That morning, they checked out of their hotels. Those stingy Slovenes saved a night's bill. They'd left their bags at reception. They merely pretended to be angry and discontented and they left the hall. At seven, they paid their hotel bills and at midnight, they staged this performance of being resigned, disappointed that their arguments were rejected. As far as the political implications are concerned at that congress, I warned them what would take place because of such destructive behaviour. And not only because of their destructive behaviour but because the congress tolerated such behaviour. A large number of the Croatian delegates didn't support them. The Bosnian delegates didn't support them at all. But I would say, because of the compromises which were made the subservient relations within the party leadership because of a policy of appeasement, I would even say an agony of impotence which was the main characteristic of political life. It was impossible to create an integral policy which would preserve Yugoslavia, and a political unity. And then the Slovenes broke ranks. They initiated the chaos and hell that later happened on the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

[Silber] Could you tell us about the hostage crisis in 1995?

[Milosevic] No, there is no need to go into that—it's in the public domain.

[Silber] But you managed to free them. How did you do that?

[Milosevic] It was very difficult for us to do that. It took great effort. But we thought we had to do it. That act had jeopardised the reputation of the Serb nation. Never before in the past had the Serbs done such immoral things. People who came in good faith, who came with our consent, who aren't of a warring party, were tied to lamp-posts like dogs. We had to do more than condemn such an act. Sweden or France, or you, could afford to condemn such an act. But Serbia had to do something more. That's why we did all we could to save those people. We believed what had happened was totally unacceptable both morally, and in any other way. And it wasn't easy, but I can't tell you more about it.

[Silber] When the UN troops arrived in Bosnia, what did you think? Do you now think that they fulfilled their task?

(Milosevic] I wouldn't say that it didn't succeed. If you analyse their activity from the point of view of whether it provided peace, then you could say no because they didn't succeed. But if you ask a different question: "Had it not been for the presence of the United Nations would the war have escalated, would it have been more brutal and would there have been more casualties?" Then I think the answer is positive. Thus, the presence of the UN wasn't futile. The UN made the war more low-profile. That provided more chances for a peaceful solution. It stopped the war escalating out of control. So I think, on the whole, the presence of the UN forces was positive. And that's why I think UN forces shouldn't withdraw from Bosnia. But they certainly shouldn't have double standards towards the sides. The main issue for the international community is that they must treat the conflicting sides equally. And I understand your public which constantly protects the Muslims because they lost the war. Public opinion always defends the underdog. However, the war was imposed on the Bosnian Serbs. The Bosnian Serbs didn't start the war. To think of Serbia as the aggressor is ridiculous. Your public didn't understand the fact that the Serbs in Bosnia were not an external army. These Serbs are citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina they are one of the three constituent nations. They refused to be second-class citizens in a future Muslim state. Alija Izetbegovic and his circle wanted to form this state. Various foreign powers supported them. Thus, to return to the role of the UN I think their role was on the whole positive. But it would have been much better if the UN had not applied double standards so frequently in the approach towards the warring parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina. If the UN remains neutral to all warring parties then they are irreplaceable. But if they support one side and punish the other then their role has been turned on its head. The main task for the UN is to remain impartial and objective. Impartial and objective. If that's not the case, then the UN just compromise themselves.

[Silber] Do you think this is one of the reasons for the fall of Srebrenica? Because UNPROFOR protected one side from the other?

[Milosevic] No, that's a totally different matter. I think that many mistakes were made there—many mistakes. In 1993, there was an agreement on the protected area of Srebrenica. I remember that very well. That protected area, under the control of the UN, had to be de-militarised. General Morillon was here in my office. He told me that he knows that the commander at Srebrenica slaughtered over 40 Serbs with his own hands. He's a war criminal. There are other questions which will have to be looked into after the war. Then he insisted that Srebrenica became a protected zone that we accept this, and the UN would have the obligation to de-militarise Srebrenica. Unfortunately, this didn't happen. The Serbs side said—and we advocated this very strongly, that the UN demand be accepted—Srebrenica becomes a protected zone. The Serbs' side accepted this. But according to our reports and information by launching constant attacks from the protected zone the Muslim forces have killed more than 100 people in the area. Over 200 people have been seriously wounded. A few days before, Muslims burnt down two Serb villages. Attacking from Srebrenica, they killed all the villagers. Under those circumstances the UN failed to ensure that the status of the protected zone is respected from both sides. The point came when you could no longer expect rational control. I don't know exactly what happened there. I didn't even know about the offensive but I saw that a great turnaround took place there. That was undoubtedly cause by this kind of status which, for a full two years, was not resolved. And at the same time, because of this Muslim offensive which has been in place for a couple of months now. First, around Sarajevo, then around the enclaves. Because as far as I understood, the Muslim leadership assessed that it now had a chance to seize a military victory. It forced people to lose their lives for ridiculous aims which they could never achieve. I repeat, there is no military solution of the Bosnian problem. None of the nations, not the Serbs, nor the Muslims or Croats can go anywhere other than Bosnia-Herzegovina. They're not an occupying force from abroad. The Serbs will remain where they are. So will the Muslims and Croats. The only formula is a political formula. That should equally protect the Muslims, Serbs and Croats. Then they can go on living together as before. I'm sure that when peace is finally established peace and the normal life which will follow will wipe out some memories of the war, which was very dirty. This is how it should be.

[Silber] We're coming to the last few questions now. Can you tell us about the rally in February 1989? There were a million people in front of the parliament. You were attending a crisis session at the Presidency, about the extraordinary measures at Kosovo, and then you spoke to the people.

[Milosevic] Yes, I remember the great rally. In Serbia, there was great support for resolving the Kosovo issue. Resolve the crisis, and life would go back to normal. I can tell you, that I still think today that the majority of people in Serbia think that in a country like the present Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and even in former Yugoslavia, the only possible policy is one of national equality. These kind of countries—multi-national countries, can only be successful and prosperous if they conduct a policy of equality between nations. A medieval coup was conducted in Kosovo. They used the slogan of ethnic purity. So much pressure and violence occurred there. This simply had to be eliminated. All the citizens were for this, including the majority of Albanians. I am convinced of this. Despite all the accusations we read in the foreign press life is much better for them. They know they live in peace and security. They are totally protected. They can work normally. Now I see that the largest mine in Kosovo is working again. I intend to visit Kosovo soon. They would have reopened the mine much earlier had it not been for these sanctions. A large number of Albanians are returning to work. They no longer listen to their leaders. Their top separatist leaders prevented them from working in any company with Serbs. A week ago, several hundred people went back to work. Several thousand Albanian people returned to work. The policy of the separatist movement failed. It didn't fail only in the whole of Serbia. If failed in Kosovo as well, among the Albanians. It failed in Serbia a long time ago.

[Silber] We have some marvellous footage of the rally. Can you tell us what it was like that night?

[Milosevic] The atmosphere was one of support for resolution of the Kosovo crisis. That was the essence. Nothing else.

Marjanovic: Peace 'Prerequisite' for Balance

LD2309152695 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1509 GMT 23 Sep 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept 23 (TANJUG)—Serbian Prime Minister Mirko Marjanovic said Saturday that a just political solution to the crisis in the territory of former Yugoslavia was the crucial prerequisite for restoring balance in the Balkans and turning this region into a zone of peace, prosperity and development of democratic relations.

Marjanovic said this to an international conference here, titled 'For a Better Future' and rallying representatives of the capital city organizations of the Balkan countries' Socialist Parties.

Marjanovic and conference participants agreed that all countries in the Balkans had the common concern: To extend maximum assistance to a peaceful resolution of the crisis in the territory of former Yugoslavia through negotiations and equal treatment of all parties to the conflict.

Another common concern was to resume activities aimed at lifting the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and reintegrating it into international forums and development streams.

Marjanovic stressed the particular significance of exchanges of experience between representatives of the governing parties in the Balkan countries.

He held talks with capital city representatives of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, the Romanian Party of Socialist Democracy, the Greek Pasok Pan-Hellenic Movement, the Montenegrin Democratic Party of Socialists, and the host Serbian Socialist Party.

Bildt to SDA: Serbia Must Solve Minority Issue

LD2209215195 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1642 GMT 22 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 22 Sep (SRNA-BETA)—UN peace mediator Carl Bildt held talks at Belgrade's Hayat Hotel this morning with a delegation of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA-Stranka Demokratske Akcije], headed by Rasim Ljajic.

Ljajic told the BETA news agency that he was "very satisfied" with the talks. He particularly stressed that Bildt had told Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic that he [Bildt] will hold talks with representatives of the Sandzak Muslims.

The EU peace mediator stressed during the talks with the SDA delegation that Serbia has to solve the issue of national minorities and human rights in a satisfactory way if it wants equal partnership in the international community, Ljajic said.

"The SDA's efforts to solve through political negotiations the status of Sandzak and the Bosniak people" in Yugoslavia received Bildt's full support, the head of the SDA delegation at the talks with Bildt said.

Akashi Contacts Presidents on Western Bosnia

LD2209212595 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2112 GMT 22 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept. 22 (TANJUG)—U.N. special envoy Yasushi Akashi sent letters to the presidents of Serbia and Croatia Slobodan Milosevic and Franjo Tudjman, respectively, and to Bosnian Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic, stating concern over the grave humanitarian situation in western part of Bosnia.

Akashi's letter stated concern over the military situation and the fate of the civilian population in western Bosnia, U.N. spokesman Philip Arnold told a press conference in Zagreb.

Akashi reminded the three leaders of their responsibility regarding the freedom of movement of the U.N. personnel which was necessary to oversee military and humanitarian situation and respect of human rights, said Arnold.

The Muslim-Croat forces, directly assisted by some 60,000 Croatia's regulars, launched on Sept. 14—several days before NATO suspended strikes on the Serb military and civilian targets—a large-scale offensive in central and northwestern Bosnia.

In the offensive, before which fled some 180,000 Serbs, they seized about 4,000 sq. km. of the Bosnian Serb republic's territory, or about 8 percent of the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The authorities in Zagreb and Muslim Sarajevo said last Tuesday they would halt the offensive, as U.N. Security Council acknowledged in a resolution adopted Thursday night.

In the past two days, the fighting in the northwest died down as the Croatians halted their offensive, but intensive fighting continued in the central parts of Bosnia, where the Muslims continued attacks towards the towns of Maglaj and Doboj.

The Muslim-controlled Sarajevo radio reported Friday night that the Muslim-Croat forces launched a new large-scale offensive in northwestern Bosnia, towards Sanski Most and in the direction of Bosanska Krupa-Bosanski Novi (Novi Grad).

New Democracy Condemns Karadzic's Policies

AU2209185595 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 22 Sep 95

[Report by Aleksandra Vrankovic]

[FBIS Translated Text] The policy that Radovan Karadzic and the Pale leadership has been conducting for a long time has significantly weakened the position of the Serb Republic. This was stated, among other things, by Dusan Mihajlovic, president of New Democracy, at a news conference in Batocina.

Such a policy of spite is currently experiencing defeats on battlefields, and this has in turn adversely affected the industry, communications, and civil population. The problem of stopping the offensive of the Muslims and Croats, whose appetites are now significantly greater, is also a problem of the international community, which must save the peace process and show that it is not applying double standards.

Mihajlovic warned that the Serbs must understand seriously the current situation as they do not have a reserve fatherland and homeland that they can lose for the sake of someone's adventurism. No calls and rallies aimed at overthrowing the regime in Belgrade can be tolerated by the Serbs and the residents of Sumadija region as this will not help us. We must, Mihajlovic stressed, turn to ourselves, the policy of peace, economic stabilization, and the return of Yugoslavia to the world.

Seselj: Milosevic 'Ready To Give In' to U.S.

LD2209175595 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1642 GMT 22 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 22 Sep (BETA)—Vojislav Seselj, chairman of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS], said today that "yesterday's protest meeting in front of the Federal Assembly showed that a substantial majority of Serbs are indignant with Slobodan Milosevic's policies."

Seselj told a news conference that "this number of people attending the meeting" shows that "the people are gradually losing their fear and that an increasing number of Serbs are ready to oppose the regime."

The demands which the citizens of Serbia made at the meeting will be the backbone of SRS activity in the forthcoming period, its leader said, adding that in order to achieve them, "the party will use all forms of political struggle regardless of the consequences" for its members.

He recalled that these constitute demands for the replacement or resignation of President Milosevic, the ending of "the criminal blockade of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic and the most efficient assistance to the Serb Republic," and for the formation of a government of national salvation.

According to him, this government will be formed by all parliamentary parties and will "resolve the situation in the country and call democratic elections in six months time."

Seselj said "Milosevic is deep in negotiations about the status of Kosovo and Metohija."

Milosevic is ready to give in to the Americans and Germans, to give up the province, and to keep it within Serbia only formally but to give all powers to siptari

[Serb derogatory term for Albanians] in practice, Seselj said.

Mira Markovic: Avoid Military Involvement

AU2209173095 Paris AFP in English 1659 GMT 22 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept 22 (AFP)—Rump Yugoslavia should not get involved militarily in the conflict in Bosnia and should keep its distance from nationalist extremism, Serbian First Lady Mira Markovic was quoted in Belgrade newspapers Friday as saying.

Markovic, the influential wife of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, said the Federal Yugoslav Republic (Serbia and Montenegro) should reject the right-wing creeds espoused by Croatian and Bosnian Serb leaders, as well as by Milosevic's own opposition in Belgrade.

"We must give refugees the chance to return home as quickly as possible and use all political means possible to get (UN-imposed) sanctions lifted," Markovic was quoted as saying during a public meeting in Novi Sad, 100 kilometres (60 miles) north of the Serbian capital.

The speech by the leader of the Yugoslav United Left (JUL) movement came in the wake of a demonstration in Belgrade on Thursday called by extreme right-wingers protesting Milosevic's failure to champion Serb causes in Bosnia and Croatia.

Commentary Condemns West for 'Double Standards'

AU2309152995 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 23 Sep 95

[Commentary by Bosko Antic]

[FBIS Translated Text] Making use of NATO bombing, the Muslim-Croatian army has taken a large portion of the Serb Republic [RS] territory. This has led to a fresh wave of refugees travelling along the road to Banja Luka. Losses inflicted on the RS army have allowed the Muslims and the Croatian Army to conquer the territories while the bombing was still going on. As always, the UN and Western European capitals, particularly Washington, send out mild appeals for a cessation of the attacks. Aware that the appeals were only a formality, Alija Izetbegovic and Franjo Tudjman did what they had been planning to do; every one of their meetings was also attended by a U.S. representative.

The RS army, its command damaged and its communications system completely down, along with refugee columns on the roads, was unable to respond swiftly and thus prevent the enemy's advance. Owing to the destruction of the entire system of communications with the world, the RS citizens were without real information. Unfortunately, the UN in advance announced the likely fall of certain places, and thus helped the refugee numbers to swell.

In addition to NATO bombing and the Muslim-Croatian army's offensives, all types of psychological warfare were also used: propaganda, rumor spreading, spreading of fear of the enemy's repression. Regular Croatian Army units joined the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The international community pretended not to see this, and they have not done anything to condemn the aggression of a state they have recognized. This confirms the opinion of many military experts who believe that following the easily won battle for the Republic of Serb Krajina, Croatia's appetite has grown. Supported by Western powers, Croatian officials claim that the country has grown into a regional power. Croatia is ignoring all the warnings that have been given it, and if it continues in this way it will most certainly cause a spreading of the conflict in the region. Such a Croatia is not only a danger to Serbs, but also to its other neighbors.

In order to resist the Muslim-Croatian army, the RS army must adjust its functioning and allow its commanders to take full initiative and thus compensate for the lack of a damaged system of command and communication. There are no firm ties between the Muslim and Croatian armies. It is an artificial coalition created through pressure by the United States and the first larger defeat, or a conflict of interests over certain regions will lead to a rift among them; this is already happening around Jajce.

It is interesting to note the statement of Haris Silajdzic, the Muslim government's prime minister, according to whom all captured territories are to remain in the hands of the party which captured them militarily. Until the success of the Muslim army, made possible by NATO bombing, he was of a completely different opinion. It is, moreover, also interesting to note that no one reacted to this statement. Had it been said by someone from the Serbian military or political leadership, a sharp reprimand would have certainly followed, as would the statement that the Bosnian crisis can only be solved politically rather than militarily. Perhaps there would also be threats of bombing of Serb positions.

Therefore, it is clear that double standards are still being applied when reacting to events in Bosnia, yet only a principled stance toward all warring parties can yield results, diminish refugee columns, and prevent the looming humanitarian catastrophe. Bosnia does not need either bombs or missiles, or the meager humanitarian aid that followed, but peace which will allow it to set out on the same road as other nations in Europe.

Serbian Paper Attack on Karadzic Viewed

95BA0353A Belgrade INTERVJU in Serbo-Croatian 4 Aug 95 pp 10-12

[Article by Marko Vesovic: "Revenge on Both the Serbs and the Turks"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The French poet Vercors said: "Nothing is so difficult as describing a man whom you know too well, simply because you do not know where to begin." I am in a similar difficulty: What am I to choose from all that I know about Radovan Karadzic, the famous bandit from Pale who for three years now has been waging a "just struggle" to destroy everything that is not Serbian in Bosnia and for that reason has become more famous in the West than the leaning tower in Pisa?

I will begin with the obvious: Radovan Karadzic is a Montenegrin. To be honest, he says that he is a Serb, that his right is guaranteed by the Constitution, but he cannot fool me, because his brain is entirely wired in Montenegrin fashion. The war in the former Yugoslavia cannot be understood if one forgets the simple fact that among other things this is a bloody experiment that that Montenegrin is performing on Serbian guinea pigs.

In short, the Montenegrin is a man who always wants to go to the end. For centuries now, the Montenegrins have been competing to see who would go further in both good and evil. When a Montenegrin rejects human ethics, when he sets out on the "mad dog's road," no one can say, not even he himself, how far he will go. It is a question of honor for the Montenegrin to dare what no "mother's son" would dare, whether he is an honorable hero or a bandit, a liar, a killer.

A poet once said: "It is not easy to be the worst man in Montenegro." How could it be easy among so many rivals, each of which wants to be first? If you come in second, you are no one and nothing. The crimes at the present moment, that is, their excessive and superficial cruelty, would be understandable if we had in mind that the Bosnian Serbs have a Montenegrin for a leader.

I was astounded when Karadzic became a Serb. Really, when I knew him, he was a Montenegrin racist, moderate, indeed even amiable, who informed us that the Montenegrin people had the "deepest roots in Europe," thereby making the case for our racial superiority. The case that his and my people is a chosen people.

Later, however, Karadzic realized that it did not pay to be a Montenegrin in Bosnia. You could not make a "career" of that in Bosnia where there are three constituent nationalities: Serbs, Croats, and Bosnians, and only afterward those "others." When he realized that it was awkward to be among the "others," he enrolled with the Serbs, and the money, power, glory, and, in the end, non-Serb blood, mainly Bosnian, Muslim, began to flow.

He Learned From Il Duce

At first, I could not understand this: How this henpecked husband who had been ordered around his entire life by his wife, who even abused him physically, in public, in the presence of friends and acquaintances, how this Milquetoast managed to become a Serbian Il Duce. Then during the war I figured out many things. He was made! What I mean is that he was created as a leader. When the Serbian historian Milorad Ekmecic, the brains of Karadzic's political party, left Sarajevo, a friend of mine, a woman who also teaches at the university, moved into his apartment. In Ekmecic's rich library she noticed a large number of books by Hitler and Stalin. Intrigued, she began to leaf through them, paying particular attention to passages that Ekmecic had underlined. When she finished reading, she was amazed to find that most of the underlined sentences and passages had to do with making a new Duce. Karadzic was created as a homunculus in the Nazi-Serb test tube.

I always considered Karadzic's assertion that he was "in danger" in Bosnia to be impudently persistent; for that matter, the same applies to his constant repetitions of this in his public statements on behalf of all the Serbs from Bosnia; in which they are also "in danger." Because this Sarajevo immigrant from the wastes of Montenegro very quickly fitted perfectly into the urban environment. In a time when most of us poor university students had come to Sarajevo from the country and were hungry, even getting ulcers from the poor diet, Karadzic was an official at the Workers' University. He would telephone some lecturer in Sarajevo or outside the city, would agree on the time and topic of the lecture, and later would introduce them always precisely at 1845 hours. Because of this "pile of work," this Serb "in danger" received the salary of an engineer.

As I remember him today, Karadzic appears more and more as the "man on the telephone." He made telephone calls without interruption, even when he had guests. "Have the potatoes arrived?" he would ask I know not whom. He was not the fool we were to buy things in state stores. Once I visited him unannounced. His wife told me that her husband was writing poems at the moment. "Fine, then I will not disturb him," I said, "I will come another time." However, just then the telephone rang: the meat had come.... "Radovaaaaan! Meeeeeat!" his wife shouted. Karadzic abandoned his poetry, hopped into the car, and went off to get the meat (there was no danger of his losing the inspiration; he always had inspiration anyway, but just never had the time to pursue it).

There is another thing that Karadzic was good at back then, even though no one else managed to do it: He started his own private practice. At that time, private practice was prohibited by law to all those employed in the public sector. That was why some doctors left government service in order to open private offices, but in vain: The communist government took a dim view of any private activity. Karadzic was the only psychiatrist in Bosnia who managed to remain in the government service and at the same time to obtain a permit to open a private office as a psychiatrist: The office was called "Appeal."

What shall I do at this point: During the war, the journalists have repeated a thousand times the sentence: "Karadzic, to whom Sarajevo gave everything, has been savagely destroying the city and killing its inhabitants." But that is not the truth. Sarajevo gave nothing to Karadzic. Karadzic took everything from Sarajevo. Later, he tried to kill the city. With that in mind, his stories about the Serbs "in danger," used as motives for plundering, expelling, raping, and killing the non-Serbs, proved to be the most impudent lies used as the basis for the Serbian campaign of conquest in Bosnia.

Karadzic is without doubt one of the biggest liars ever born to a Montenegrin mother. He fits perfectly our saying: "He lies whenever he opens his mouth." But only some of his lies fit Goebbels' dictum: "We do not talk to say something, but to compel certain people to do something." The lie is the essence of any fascism, including Karadzic's. To cite just one example, a relatively naive one: Karadzic ordered his propaganda people to prepare a list of Serbian women—pretending that the list was made up by the Bosnians—designated for a harem in the Islamic state of Alija Izetbegovic (president of Bosnia). But is it possible, you will ask, for any human mind to be capable of such a construction? Of course it is. This is the mind of that Serbian peasant.

Muslims—That Is, Turks

Rebecca West, in her famous book about her trip through Yugoslavia on the eve of that last war, noted that among the Serbs there was an excessive amount of negative emotions that had remained unexpressed after the departure of the Turks. Hatred of the conquerors who stayed for five centuries remained strong and alive although the object of that hatred had disappeared, that is, the Turks were gone. The Bosnian tragedy becomes clearer in that light. The Bosnians are the best substitute for the Turks. It is no accident that whenever Karadzic addresses his soldiers and the people in general he insists on calling the Bosnians Turks. For that matter, he even alludes to an old linguistic custom: At one time, a person of Muslim faith was referred to as a Turk, just as in Montenegro today they still refer to Orthodox believers as Serbs. The Bosnians are a product of the Turkish occupation, the tail the Turks left behind, and so long as they exist, the Serbs will remember that they were the servants of the Turks.

Servants. Slaves. And the Serbian conceit cannot stand that. That is why Karadzic is demolishing mosques, cemeteries, destroying the Bosnians: with a Serbian passion and a method that is not Serbian at all, trying to destroy the evidence of the Turkish sojourn in these parts, returning a pre-Turk "purity" to Bosnia. Thus, in the imagination of the Serbian peasant the list of Serbian women designated for Alija Izetbegovic's harem did not seem like a grotesque lie, but as pure truth. As someone very familiar with the popular imagination, Karadzic knew quite well that this false list would evoke two reactions in his people: fear and hatred, which would easily compel them to take up the knife and butcher the neighbors with whom they had lived their entire lives.

And then there is land. Before and after the war, Karadzic unendingly repeated to the Serbian peasants that if they stay in Izetbegovic's state, they will lose their land. What land? That land that in the 1918 agrarian reform was taken by expropriation from the Bosnian noblemen and given to their servants. And at the very idea that he could lose his land, the peasant readily asks: "Tell me, who am I supposed to butcher?" For a centimeter of land, for a pebble in the land boundary, the peasant is ready to kill his own brother with an ax. The manner in which the Serbs in Bosnia have slaughtered the Bosnians is a consequence of peasant greed. Karadzic and his media have so far repeated the words "Serbian land" at least 300 million times. And it is always "holy."

Peasants, They Will Take Your Land

The lies that Karadzic showered upon us as soon as he took power were made for the ears of the Serbian peasants. The rest were lies designed for foreigners. However, they had less success: The world already knows the monstrous dimension of his crimes in Bosnia. However, he has been forced to conceal his sins with lies, just as his cutthroats are using bulldozers to cover the corpses of Bosnians with earth. Karadzic very quickly discovered that the powerful people in the world, politicians, negotiators, pay requisite attention to his lies. It is obvious that he tells them what they want to hear. And they want to hear them all, lies of every kind, just in order to have a justification not to do anything to stop the Serbian invasion and the expulsion and pogroms of non-Serbs in Bosnia.

These lies, however, are state lies, if it can be put that way. But the need that Karadzic has to lie is not only political. Ever since I have known him, he has been one of the greatest falsifiers of reality I have known. He is a man who represents himself as the greatest poet, the greatest psychiatrist, the greatest lover, the greatest politician.

After graduation, Karadzic went to work in the Kosevo Hospital in Sarajevo. In the doctors' lounge, during breaks and consultations, he liked to suddenly begin a conversation about his wife. About her "Creole beauty." The story about his wife "beautiful as a Creole" grew into a constant refrain of his conversations with his fellows. After a few months, the entire hospital was caught up in impatient curiosity as to when they would get to see the "Creole beauty." One morning, an orderly ran into the room shouting: "Karadzic's wife is in the corridor!!!" The doctors fell all over one another rushing to see her. But what they saw left them astounded: a rather short woman, with a face round as a saucepan, heavy as an artillery horse, and with such a gloomy face that she should be hired out for funerals. What they saw before them was living proof of Karadzic's attempts to change reality by force, before the eyes of all.

Someone might say that he was probably in love with his dear wife and it is well known that people in love often see in the beloved features that are not there. That explanation can be excluded, because Karadzic was forced to marry Miss Ljiljana Zelen at pistolpoint. He had made her pregnant when he was a student, and tried to get away. However, the future father-in-law, Vojo Zelen, "hunted him down" for days in Sarajevo with a little pistol, and so in the end Karadzic had to marry. By way of consolation, he cheated on his wife heedlessly whenever he had the opportunity.

Among his fellow doctors, Karadzic said that he was one of the "three greatest living Serbian poets." Karadzic considered all his scribblings valuable, as though they had been printed on filigree paper, the paper on which dollars are printed.

In front of us poets, that is, in front of people who understood poetry, he obviously did not dare to utter a word about his poetic prowess. We would make fun of him, saying: "Why, you are not even among the first 100 Serbian poets, and as for the second 100, there is no point debating whether you are 146 or 189 on the list." To get back at us, he would say that he was one of the two greatest psychiatrists in Sarajevo and thereby in Bosnia as well. He talked to the writers about psychiatry and to the psychiatrists about poetry. Of course, he did not dare to present his colleagues evidence of his professional greatness, because they would have said to him: "Get off it! We still have not forgotten when you read three books in English about depression and later said that you knew everything. Radovan, all you are is a lazy Montenegrin who prefers to enjoy his own greatness, which is extremely easy, than to really get down to work, which is neither easy nor pleasant."

Like a Montenegrin Pirate

In just the year and a half since he took power, Karadzic has realized his lifelong dream: He has become rich. He has shown a first-class Montenegrin talent for thievery. Down through the centuries, plunder has been a method of honest and honorable, heroic income in Montenegro. It could not have been otherwise in a country no bigger than a thimble, where all there was were free people and a great deal of unfertile stony ground, all of it surrounded by the richest empire in the world, Turkey. And so they would gather around them a band of armed lads, make an incursion into the depth of Turkish territory, take a few thousand sheep, and hightail it home. Those were really risky raids that took a great deal of courage. The Turks on the other side were age-old enemies with whom at least 400 battles were waged in 400 years, and so it was not considered a sin if a Turk was killed or robbed.

Karadzic is a throwback to his ancestors, for whom plundering was their principal livelihood, and he had an insatiable thirst for material goods. When Karadzic went to Switzerland to put the money he had stolen in the bank, the newspapers wrote about that, and his wife, mortally offended, began to defend him, explaining that Radovan had been invited by the Society of Swiss Psychiatrists, which was established by none other than Carl Gustav Jung, to deliver a series of lectures. I really laughed hard at that childish lie. This was about like Mile Piskvicevic of Lower Cuntville, some wolf fucker, being invited to deliver a lecture on poetry at some U.S. university. Never has any Yugoslav psychiatrist dreamed of delivering a lecture in the institute established by Jung. It would be a big deal if our psychiatrists, passing through Switzerland, even managed to have their picture taken in front of that building, but Ljiljana Karadzic dared to say that her husband had been invited to deliver a series of lectures! Perhaps on the topic: how to turn a normal Serb into a person convinced that he has been humiliated in the eyes of the civilized world if it considers non-Serbs human beings.

Radovan the Criminal

Karadzic has not surprised me at all in this war except in one thing: I could not even dream that hidden in him was a criminal who believed that the right of the Bosnians to live was an insignificant trifle.

Karadzic kills with the same spontaneous ease that other people whistle during their morning shower. He is convinced that Bosnians have an obligation to disappear from the face of the earth, because their disappearance is a condition for the Serbs to enter their millennial paradise. The fact that the "Turks" have offered strong resistance and are determined to survive is for Karadzic an impudence he never expected to see in them. No one could have imagined they were able to achieve that. If they call him a criminal, he is deeply and sincerely offended, because he considers himself a "humanist": He could have killed twice as many Bosnians as he has killed and leveled Sarajevo to the ground with his artillery, but he did not do that, and that is why he considers himself good. He does not even achieve the essential minimum in his slaughter: He kills only as many as needed to make the Serbs happy. And he will not go before the International Court in The Hague because he can be judged only by history, and history, it is well known, judges people only in absentia.

No, I could not imagine that a criminal of that caliber was hidden in the trickster who was so ridiculous as to put on a camouflage uniform, because all his suits were "camouflage." His speeches to the Bosnian Serbs remind me of selling Siberian fur coats in the tropics. For years, this liar walked the streets of Sarajevo greeting everyone he knew with the cordial and amiable smile typical of born cheats. But I could never have imagined that this five-for-a-penny poet would be stronger than Michelangelo with a chisel. Anyway, what is the point of this whole story: It is futile to hold a mirror in front of Karadzic's face. It is well known that vampires cannot see themselves in a mirror.

Montenegro

Djukanovic Comments on U.S. Peace Inititiave

LD2509102495 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1012 GMT 25 Sep 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Budva, Yugoslavia, Sept. 25 (TANJUG)—Montenegrin Premier Milo Djukanovic said Sunday that the prospects for peace in Bosnia were good because the key factors of the international policy were most directly involved in the realization of the U.S. peace initiative.

Prospects for the success of the U.S. initiative are quite certain, Djukanovic told TANJUG after the opening of the Informatics Achievement Festival (Info Fest) in the Montenegrin Adriatic resort of Budva.

Djukanovic gave the U.S. initiative preference over the previous ones and said that all powers in the world had now started to work towards a speedy reaching of peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

He said he believed that Yugoslavia's peace efforts would finally be appreciated.

The Montenegrin premier said that the restoration of lasting and stable peace in Yugoslavia's neighbourhood and a speedy lifting of the sanctions against Yugoslavia were preconditions for a long-term peace and development in Yugoslavia.

More than 700 experts from Yugoslavia, Greece, the Netherlands, France and Canada participate at the second Info Fest, which is sponsored by the Montenegrin Government.

Kosovo

Reaction to 'Hints' on U.S. Policy Reported

LD2509111895 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1048 GMT 25 Sep 95

[By Djordje Jevtic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pristina, Sept. 25 (TANJUG)—The public opinion of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo and Metohija is divided after hints in the U.S. press that the Clinton administration would not support the province's secession from Serbia.

A recent visit to the United States by Albanian President Sali Berisha failed to win support for the years' long option for an 'Independent Kosovo', as advocated by the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, the province's biggest ethnic Albanian political party.

Half-hearted promises by Washington that the U.S. would guarantee respect for the human and national rights of ethnic Albanians some ethnic Albanian analysts took to mean the United States was advocating the 'restoration of autonomy' and no more.

A leading analyst, Skeljzen Malichi, said in the latest issue of the PRISTINA ZERI paper, published in the Albanian, that ethnic Albanians in Kosovo would be divided among the 'romantic defeatists', 'optimistic realists' and a 'military bloc'.

The first group rallies those who will call to memory analogous events throughout history, the second those who believe that autonomy would eventually lead to a state, even if it took 30 years, and the last group those who oppose a 'peace policy and compromised solutions.'

The militarists believe in the creation of a 'national-liberation movement' which would not flinch from an armed struggle.

It is uncertain whether the struggle would be guerrilla warfare, resistance such as the intifada, or more expansive, to include neighboring Albania.

The analysts suggest the use of combined political methods and 'negotiations with Belgrade.'

The question as to the definition of autonomy varies—one is the U.S. definition, another the European, and the third what the 'Serb side prescribes,' said ZERI.

Under the Serbian Constitution, provinces have territorial autonomy without elements of statehood, and a local government.

With the fall of the Serb Krajina Republic (RSK), the '2K plan' (Krajina-Kosovo), launched at one time by ethnic Albanian separatist leaders, no longer holds.

The Serbs in Croatia proclaimed their own state, the RSK, in 1991, in reponse to Croatia's violent secession from the former Yugoslavia.

The Croatian Army conquered the central and western parts of RSK in two blitz offensives in May and August.

European Union officials have been vague about the question of Kosovo. In an interview to ZERI, E.U. Commissioner for international relations Hans Van Der Broek made no promises or gave ambiguous answers.

Van Der Bruke had been specific in calling the ethnic Albanian community a national minority within the Yugoslav Federation, whose human and nationalist rights had to be honored.

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